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IN THE DAYS OF
THE PILGRIM FATHERS

By Mary Caroline Crawford

OLD BOSTON DAYS AND WAYS

ROMANTIC DAYS IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

THE ROMANCE OF THE AMERICAN THEATRE

SOCIAL LIFE IN OLD NEW ENGLAND

IN THE DAYS OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS



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GOVERNOR EDWARD WINSLOW

This is the only authentic portrait of a Mayflower Pilgrim and was painted in England shortly before Winslow's death in 1655 at the age of 61. The original is in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.

IN THE DAYS OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

BY
MARY CAROLINE CRAWFORD

ILLUSTRATED



BOSTON
LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY
1920

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Published May, 1920

Harvard Press
Set up and electrotyped by J. S. Cushing Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

Out of small beginnings great things have
been produced, and as one small candle
may light a thousand, so the light
here kindled hath shone to many —

— BRADFORD.

The coming hither of the Pilgrim three centuries ago shaped the destinies of this Continent, and therefore profoundly affected the destiny of the whole world.

— THEODORE ROOSEVELT, at the laying of the corner stone of the Pilgrim Memorial Monument at Provincetown, Massachusetts, April 20, 1907.

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;

They must upward still and onward, who would keep abreast of Truth:

Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires! We *ourselves must Pilgrims be, Launch our Mayflower*, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea.

Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key.

— J. R. LOWELL, in "The Present Crisis", 1844.

If a man says that he does not care to know where his grandfather lived, what he did, and what were that grandfather's politics and religious creed, it can merely mean that he is incapable of taking interest in one of the most interesting forms of human knowledge — the knowledge of the details of the Past.

— *The London Spectator*.

FOREWORD

AT a time when the words "Pilgrim" and "Pilgrim Fathers" are on everybody's lips, it is worth while to point out that these terms, as used in American history, were unknown till the closing years of the eighteenth century. The pioneers who settled at Plymouth never thought of themselves or spoke of themselves as Pilgrims, — save in that instance where Bradford, using the word in a figurative and Scriptural sense, says of his companions as they are about to migrate from Leyden, "so they lefte that goodly & pleasante citie, which had been ther resting place near 12. years; but they knew they were pilgrimes & looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest cuntrie and quieted their spirits." As applied specifically to the early settlers at Plymouth, the word "Pilgrim", we are told by Albert Matthews, authority on early American history, — first appeared in 1798, and "Pilgrim Fathers" in 1799. Oddly enough, it was Thomas Paine who (in an account printed in the *Columbian Centinel* of the 177th Anniversary of the landing at Plymouth Rock)

first bestowed this term on the early settlers; Thomas Paine, whose name has long been anathema to devout sons and daughters of the Pilgrim Fathers!

But if the forefathers at Plymouth did not call themselves Pilgrims, neither did they call themselves Puritans. That term they not only did not use, but emphatically disavowed. Bradford, indeed, twice expresses his dislike for the term on the ground that it was one of reproach, like the term Quaker. "And to cast contempt the more upon the sincere servants of God," he says in one place, "they opprobriously and most unjustly gave unto and imposed upon them that name of Puritans; which (it) is said the novatians (out of pride) did assume and take unto themselves." And in another place he says: "The name of Brownists is but a nick-name, as Puritan and Huguenot, etc., and therefore they do not amiss to decline the odium of it in what they may."

But it was not simply because the term Puritan was one of reproach that the Forefathers did not use that name in writing or in speaking of themselves. They were *not* Puritans but Separatists. The Puritan, in England at any rate, was a Nationalist, believing in the union of Church and State, however desirous he might be that the Church of England should be thoroughly reformed; while the Pilgrim was a Separatist not only from the Anglican Prayer Book and Queen Elizabeth Episcopacy but from all national

churches. The Pilgrim wanted liberty for himself, for his brothers, and for those of his house to walk with God in Christian life as the rules and motives of such a life were revealed to him from God's Word. For that he went into exile; for that he crossed the ocean; for that he made his home in the wilderness.

Just as there is great confusion between Pilgrims and Puritans, so it is far from clear to most Americans that, for more than sixty years, that is from 1628 to 1691 — when the Colony at Plymouth and that centering about Salem, Charlestown, and Boston, were merged under one Constitution — what we now call Massachusetts, consisted of two distinct colonies, two centers of life and influence, which, though separated geographically by only forty miles, were in every other respect very far apart. Almost the only thing which these two Colonies had in common was the allegiance which both conceded to England.

In view of the scores of scholarly tomes which have been written concerning the Pilgrims and the Puritans, the ways in which they resembled each other and the things which differentiated them; their modes of life; their ideals; their church practices; their backgrounds; and their relation to the social and political life of America during the last three hundred years, one needs indeed to have courage to undertake, at this stage of the world's history, to write another book on the subject. The more one reads the more aghast

one grows at this task. Yet I hold it to be true that however well the history of any epoch may have been written, it is desirable that it should be rewritten from time to time by those who look at the subject under discussion from the point of view of their own era. So here is one more book, a book which I have found it very interesting to write, whether any one finds it interesting to read or not. Without more ado I present it to that kind public which has been so hospitable to my writings in the past, taking further space at this point only to acknowledge my particular indebtedness, among books, to Goodwin's "Pilgrim Republic" and to the exhaustive volumes of Dr. H. M. Dexter and his son. I wish also to thank the courteous attendants at the Boston Athenæum and the Boston Public Library, who have given me most generously of their time, their resources, and their scholarship; to express my gratitude to the friends from far and near who have helped in the matter of pictures, and to acknowledge the kindness of the New England Society of Pennsylvania, by whose permission I am able to reproduce on the book's cover the Saint Gaudens statue, known as "The Pilgrim", which this organization caused to be erected in 1905 in City Hall Square, Philadelphia.

M. C. C.

Boston, April, 1920.

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IN THE DAYS OF
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IN THE DAYS OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

CHAPTER I

THE COLLEGE THAT CRADLED THE PURITAN IDEA

IT is an historic saying that "Cambridge bred the founders of the English Reformation and that Oxford burned them." There is a good deal of truth in this observation, though Dean Stubbs of Ely, who has written a delightful book about Cambridge, seems disposed to believe that the greater hospitality accorded to the Puritans by Cambridge came not so much because this university welcomed the gospel of the scholars of Geneva more cordially than did Oxford, as because the people of East Anglia, in which Cambridge is situated, had been saturated, two centuries before, with the Bible teaching of the "poore Priestes" of Wycliffe's school and had cherished this teaching ever since. But whatever the *cause* of Cambridge's comparatively cordial acceptance of the Puritan idea, the *fact* cannot be denied. If any English university were friendly to the Puritans, Cambridge was that university.

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It was always William Brewster's belief that his radical religious ideas originated in Cambridge, where — at the college of Peterhouse — he matriculated in December, 1580. There is no record that Brewster ever received a degree from Cambridge; we do not even know whether he remained at the university two years or only a few months. Nor was Peterhouse the most radical of the Cambridge colleges. But the whole atmosphere of the university was electric, at this time, with radical tendencies, and young Brewster eagerly drank in the thoughts poured out by the notable Puritans and Separatists then in residence: the eminent Calvinist, Peter Baro, Professor of Divinity at this time; William Perkins, whose books Brewster later owned; Udall, Perry, Greenwood and George Johnson. Under these influences Brewster, as Bradford tells us, was "first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue." Here, too, he achieved a firm knowledge of Latin and "some insight into Greek." Without exaggeration, therefore, we may attribute to Cambridge University an important place among the formative influences which made William Brewster the man he was.

Cambridge was also the university home of Thomas Cartwright, who has been described as the head and most learned of that sect of dissenters then called Puritans. He was a Fellow at the same table at Trinity with Archbishop John Whitgift, who owed his Primacy, in 1583, very largely to the vigorous manner in which he fought

the doctrine which Cartwright was then promulgating. Cartwright is of particular interest to students of Pilgrim history because William Brewster was harried out of Holland for having printed a book of his.

Moreover, it was at Cambridge that John Robinson received his education. For a long time we did not know this with certainty. The cloudiness came about, first, because of Robinson's extremely common name, and second, because his published writings are almost entirely free from forms of expression which would suggest that the Pilgrim pastor had enjoyed a university education. A few years ago, however, all doubts in regard to this great leader's Cambridge training were set at rest by Champlin Burrage, who unearthed in the Bodleian Library a three-hundred-year-old manuscript replying to a lost writing of Robinson's; and replying in such a way as to establish clearly the following very important facts of the great pastor's career: that he was admitted to Corpus Christi, or Benet College, in 1592; approved for a B.A. degree in February, 1595 or 1596; and on March 27, 1597, admitted and sworn among the Fellows of this College. On March 28, 1599, he took his degree of M.A. Most important of all, Mr. Burrage was able to identify this John Robinson (for there had previously been a confusion with another Cambridge scholar of precisely the same name) as "John Robinson of Nottinghamshire A.M. and Priest", mentioned fifth in

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the list of College Fellows, in the Register under the date of 1602.

Thus there is clear proof not only of Robinson's academic connection but, also, that at this period of his life he was in the service of the Church. The church which he served was that of St. Andrew's, Norwich, which is still standing and still in use. While there he married (February 15, 1603 or 1604) Bridget White. We may conclude that he was about twenty-seven at this time; though since the exact year of his birth, the church in which he was baptized, and his parentage are all unknown, one cannot be certain about this.

One important thing that we do know, however, about Robinson and about his Cambridge connection is that it was here, while tormented with doubts as to whether he should or should not remain in the Established Church, he heard preached two sermons about the Light and Darkness "between which God hath separated" and "the Godly hereby are endangered to be leavened with the others wickedness" which determined the trend of his future work in the world.

Robinson drifted from Norwich to Lincolnshire, where his name is indissolubly connected with the history of Gainsborough and of Scrooby. But though he was with the Scrooby group before their departure for Amsterdam he was not prominent among them until the congregation removed from Amsterdam to Leyden. Then he suddenly began to take a leading part in the controversies

of the Separatists and to be recognized as the pastor of the Leyden Brownists.

Corpus Christi, Cambridge, was the college home not only of John Robinson, but also of several other men who subsequently became leaders of the Puritan Party. The story of the rise of this famous foundation is, therefore, not without interest for us,—more especially since it was hoped by the guild which founded the college that through the ceremonies connected with the festival of Corpus Christi “the perfidy of Heretics” should be confounded!

Two guilds, indeed, had a share in bringing the college into being. Thomas Fuller tells of this in the following picturesque manner:

Here at this time were two eminent guilds or fraternities of townsfolks in Cambridge, consisting of brothers and sisters, under a chief annually chosen, called an alderman.

The Guild of Corpus Christi, keeping their prayers in St. Benedicts Church.	The Guild of the Blessed <i>Virgin</i> observing their offices in St. Mary's Church.
---	--

Betwixt these there was a zealous emulation, which of them should amortize and settle best maintenance for such chaplains to pray for the souls of those of their brotherhood. Now, though generally in those days the stars outshined the sun; I mean more honour (and consequently more wealth) was given to saints than to Christ himself; yet here the Guild of Corpus Christi so outstript that of the Virgin Mary in endowments, that the latter (leaving off any

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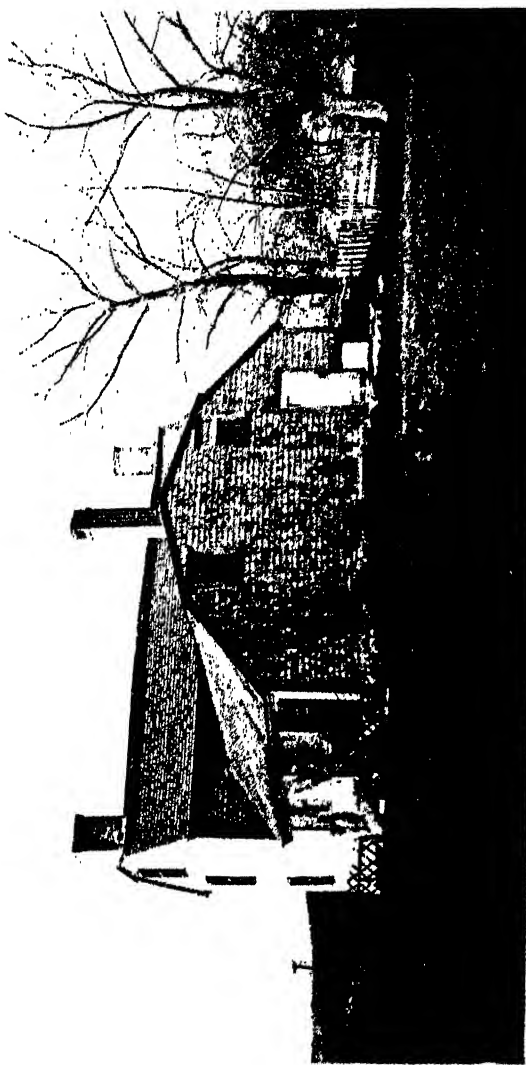
further thoughts of contesting) desired an union, incorporated together. 2. Thus being happily married they were not long issueless, but a small college was erected by their united interest, which bearing the name of both parents, was called the College of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Mary. However, it hath another working-day name, commonly called (from the adjoined church) Benet College; yet so, that on festival solemnities (when written in Latin, in public instruments) it is termed by the foundation name there.¹

That the college with which John Robinson and a number of other Puritan leaders were associated should have sprung from the most democratic institution of the times, the guilds, is eminently appropriate. For the guilds stood above everything else for personal independence coupled with rugged respect for the law. Yet there is an aspect of the foundation's history which is not without humor. Most writers assert that the motive for the joint benefaction, made as above described by worthy workers of Cambridge, is unknown. But the fact that the Black Death had just been raging in England -- killing great numbers of priests as well as laymen, and this in the day when dying men desired (and required) to have masses sung for them -- makes it quite believable that the Cambridge tradesmen had a thrifty eye to the future when they set up a college all their own. Further to promote good

¹ Fuller's "History of the University." P. 98.



THE COLLEGE ON THE CAM AS IT LOOKS TODAY



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HOUSE BUILT BY WILLIAM CROW IN 1634 AND STILL STANDING IN PILGRIM PLYMOUTH

feeling at "the general meeting", when town and gown usually feasted together, they all "dranke their ale (of which they kept good store in their cellars) out of a great Horn finely ornamented with silver gilt", — and presented to them by said tradesmen.

The festivities connected with the Annual Nameday observation of the College loomed large for nearly two hundred years. Thomas Fuller describes these celebrations thus characteristically :

A great solemnity was observed by the Guild every Corpus Christi day (being always the Thursday after Trinity Sunday), according to this equipage: — 1. The Alderman of the Guild for that year (as Master of the Ceremonies) went first in procession. 2. Then the Elders thereof (who had been aldermen, or were near the office), carrying silver shields enamelled in their hands, bestowed on the brotherhood, some by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, some by Henry Tangmer aforementioned. 3. Then the Master of this College, in a silk cope under a canopy, carrying the Host in the pix, or rich box of silver-gilt, having two for the purpose: 1. One called "the gripe's eye" given by Henry Tangmer; 2. Another, weighing seventy-eight ounces, bestowed by Sir John Cambridge. 4. Then the Vice Chancellor, with the University men in their seniorities. 5. Lastly the mayor of the town and burgesses thereof. Thus from Bene't church they advanced to the great bridge, through all the parts of the town, and so returned with a good appetite to the place where they began.

Then in Corpus Christi College was a great dinner

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provided them, where good stomachs meeting with good cheer and welcome, no wonder if mirth followed of course. Then out comes the cup of John Goldcorn (once Alderman of the Guild), made of an horn, with the cover and appurtenances of silver and gilt, which he gave this Company, and all must drink therein. . . .

It is remarkable that, in the procession, that canopy under which the Host was carried fell on fire, leaving men to guess, as they stood affected, whether it was done casually by the carelessness of the torchbearers, or maliciously by some covertly casting fire thereon out of some window—or miraculously to show that God would shortly consume such superstition. And, indeed, in the twenty-seventh of King Henry VII, when Thomas Legh, Doctor of Law, visited the University, the same was finally abrogated. Then those silver trinkets were sold, and those shields had their property altered, to fence and defraud the College from wind and weather, being converted into money and laid out in reparations.

However, the townsmen still importunately claimed their dinner as due unto them, in so much that Richard Roulfe, then Mayor of the town, required it of the College in a commanding manner. The Master and Fellows whereof resolved to teach the townsmen a distinction, to put the difference betwixt a debt and a courtesy, this dinner falling under the latter notion. They reminded them also of the maxim in logic, how *sublata causa tollitur effectus*, "the procession the cause being taken away, the dinner (as the effect) ceased therewith." But, the belly having no ears, nothing would satisfy the other party, save a suit, themselves prejudging the cause on their own side.

Insomuch that they brewed in their hopes, they broached in their brags, boasting that as the houses belonging to this College came originally from townsmen, so now they should return to the townsmen again, as forfeited for the default of this dinner. Yea, so confident they were of success, that they, very equally-unequally (because invading other men's right), divided aforehand such houses amongst themselves. But the worst and coldest fur is what is to be made of a bear's skin, which is to be killed.

For the College procured that certain Commissioners were sent down by the King (amongst whom were John Hind, Knight, Sergeant-at-Law, and John Hutton, esq.) to examine the matter, and summon the Master and Fellows to appear before them: who, appearing accordingly, produced most authentical evidences and charters of mortmain, whereby their lands in Cambridge were sufficiently conveyed and confirmed unto them. And thus the townsmen, both hungry and angry at the loss both of their dinner and houses, were fain to desist.

One of the greatest names connected with Corpus Christi College is that of Matthew Parker, who, after a troubled academic career, became second Archbishop of Canterbury. There is an amusing story about a visit paid to the college by Queen Elizabeth, during Parker's time, which shows us why this worthy man was forced to retire when Queen Mary came to the throne in 1553. Parker had in 1547 married Margaret Harlsborne, a woman of such grace and charm that one high dignitary of the Church, Bishop Ridley, asked,

when taking his leave after a visit, whether Mrs. Parker had a sister. Evidently the good bishop did not share the imperious Elizabeth's prejudice in favor of a celibate clergy. Elizabeth, on taking her leave, had remarked to her hostess, "*Madam*, I may not call you; and *Mrs.* I am ashamed to call you; so I know not what to call you; but yet I do thank you."

At the time John Robinson was in residence at Corpus Christi, Puritanism was so prevalent in Cambridge University that it had to be somewhat tolerated, definite as was the feeling against it. It was here that Robert Browne, pioneer of Congregationalism, had been educated, and here, too, that John Smyth, who later went into exile at Amsterdam for opinion's sake, had been a Fellow. Yes, "*Cambridge bred the Founders of the English Reformation.*" This is an historical verity; yet no one of the learned men who have spent a lifetime in research concerning either the influences that emanated from Cambridge University or the early history of the Pilgrims in England dwells much on this phenomenon. The reason is not far to seek. The men who write the histories of Cambridge are mostly Churchmen and dismiss with a mere footnote the regrettable truth that the "Separatists" and "Dissent" attained a considerable foothold in their College during the latter part of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, to the writers who approach the subject with the Pilgrims chiefly in their

mind, the facts and dates connected with Robert Browne, just referred to as the pioneer of Congregationalism, naturally loom largest. And Browne died in the Church of England!

Robert Browne was born at Tolethorpe in Rutlandshire about 1550. Though little is known of his childhood it is clear that he was of gentle blood and influential family. He entered Corpus Christi, or Benet College, at Cambridge in 1570 and in due course received, in all probability, the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The fact that in 1571 he was chaplain in the family of the Duke of Norfolk rather confuses his history at this point because one would not expect to find an undergraduate so engaged. Already, however, he had come under Puritan influences and for some years had been speaking occasionally, on Sundays, to Puritan congregations who were wont to gather in a gravel pit in Islington, though, between times, he earned his living teaching school at Southwark, a part of London.

Then the plague broke out and Browne returned to his home. Soon he reappeared at Cambridge as a theological student and, so great were his gifts that, in spite of his well-known Puritan tendencies, he was invited to a pulpit in Cambridge itself. This he declined, preferring to preach boldly in unsanctified places against the authority of the bishops. As a result the bishop and council of the diocese forbade his further preaching in the college town.

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Norwich in Norfolk promised to give him liberty of thought and a congenial field for his labors, so he removed to that town and there lived with Robert Harrison, a friend who held views similar to his. Here, about 1580, he organized and became pastor of the first purely, and formally established, Congregational Church on record in England. Naturally the authorities disapproved of his teachings, and but for the mediation of Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who appears to have been a relative, it would have gone hard with him. As it was he found it convenient to emigrate with his followers to Middelburg in Zealand. Here he stayed for two years. And here were printed three treatises from his pen, which were deemed so revolutionary, when distributed in England, that the Queen issued a special proclamation against them, and at least two men, John Copping and Elias Thacker, were hanged for giving them circulation.

Browne's followers were hanged. But Browne himself recanted. From leading the religious radicals in Holland, and later in Scotland, he returned, about 1586, to England and to the Church of his boyhood. The last forty years of his life were passed as rector of an insignificant parish in the diocese of Peterborough. About ten years after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock he died in Northampton jail, to which place he had been committed for striking a constable who had been rude to him in his old age.

Robert Browne is the Benedict Arnold of ecclesiastical history. Church of England writers not unnaturally condemn him for leading the most important schism their communion has ever known. And the Puritan chroniclers lash him unmercifully for having been "false to the light that was in him." To one who is writing without theological bias, however, his career is exceedingly interesting because full of variety and color. That career partly belongs to this chapter because Browne appears to have somehow got his first inspiration at Cambridge. But it belongs also to the chapter in which will be studied the beginnings of the New England Republic, because it is to Browne and Brownism that the seeds of modern democracy, as we know it to-day in America, can most directly be traced.

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CHAPTER II

IN WHICH CERTAIN PURITANS BECOME “PILGRIMS”

WE have seen that it was in East England, especially in the University of Cambridge, that Puritanism had its earliest home. Edwin D. Mead hazards the thought that it may have been within the very walls of the university that the agreement was signed which founded the Massachusetts enterprise! However this may be, Bradford himself assures us that it was in the university at Cambridge that William Brewster was “first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue”; and to William Brewster, if to any single person, must be accorded the honor of being the father of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Born just as Elizabeth's reign began, Brewster came to Court to enter the services of Sir William Davison in the very heyday of the Elizabethan era. It was at this very time that Shakespeare, four years younger than Brewster, journeyed up to London from Stratford; and Sir Philip Sidney, who was six years older than Brewster, Spenser, who was seven years his senior, and Raleigh,

who had eight years the advantage of him in age, were likewise at Court at this same momentous period in the world's history. That so young a man as William Brewster should have been accorded, in such company as this, the responsible and confidential place which he occupied in the service of Elizabeth's great Secretary of State proves him to have been endowed with high qualities of character. Bradford tells us that Davison "trusted him above all others that were about him, and only employed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecy. He esteemed him rather as a son than servant and for his wisdom and godliness he would converse with him in private more like a friend and familiar than a master."

As a sign of the confidence reposed in Brewster by Davison, it is to be noted that when this youth from Scrooby had been hardly more than a year at Court, he was called upon to accompany the Secretary on his important errand to Holland in connection with a closer alliance between England and the Low Countries. One feature of the ceremony connected with this diplomatic mission was the turning over of the keys of Flushing to the English by the Dutch authorities in pledge of good faith and as a sign of their intention to meet the obligations of the treaty they had just made with Elizabeth. These keys Davison committed for safe keeping to Brewster, who slept the first night with them under his pillow.

When Sir Philip Sidney arrived, a month later, to take command, Brewster transferred the keys to him.

At Flushing Brewster witnessed the pageant performed upon the arrival of Leicester and Essex, sharing, no doubt, in the enthusiasm which caused the Dutch to display, as the English lords and warriors proceeded from Flushing to Middelburg, and thence on to Rotterdam, to Delft, to the Hague, to Leyden and to Amsterdam, a banner bearing the words "Whom God Hath Joined Together, Let No Man Put Asunder." Davison, with Brewster as his aide, accompanied Leicester throughout this whole triumphant journey; and when Davison returned to England, having been given a gold chain as a sign of the esteem in which he was held by the Dutch people, he commissioned Brewster to wear the chain in England until they came to Court.

Two years later, when Davison was made the butt of Elizabeth's hypocritical rage — because of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, at Fotheringay Castle — Brewster shared his friend's sorrows as he had previously shared his triumphs, visiting him in the Tower and serving him in all possible ways. Davison was still in the Tower when Brewster left London for his home town. It is interesting to note that the beheading of Mary, Queen of Scots, in that it sent Brewster back to Scrooby, proved to be an important factor in the founding of the Pilgrim Church!

That a place as important to the world's development as Scrooby should have been lost to scholars for nearly two centuries is one of the curious happenings of history. Yet such is the fact. We owe to Joseph Hunter, the same English scholar who identified Bradford's Journal in London in 1855, the discovery, as it were, of this home for so many years of William Brewster. The records show that Brewster acted as post of Scrooby¹ from January, 1589, to September, 1607. In April, 1608, he was fined for recusancy. At his house the Independent Congregation, which had Richard Clifton as its first teacher and John Robinson as his successor, was organized in 1606.

To be sure, Brewster was still a faithful member of the Church of England when he began to offer his home as a sanctuary to those who wished to worship God in their own way; but even thus early he was eagerly reaching out towards something different. We think of him as "Elder" Brewster, crowned with years and dignity; the fact is that he was a youth of only twenty-three in 1589 and driven by the ardor of youth in his pursuit of the truth as he saw it.

Religion was at very low ebb in this neighbor-

¹ There is extant a letter, written by Sir John Stanhope, Postmaster-General of England, to Sir William Davison, dated August 22, 1590, which makes it clear that William Brewster's father had held this important office at Scrooby before he came to it, and that when the first William Brewster died in the summer of 1590, his son had already been performing the duties of the post for a year and a half. By April 1, 1594, Brewster was in full possession of the office; and he there continued until September 30, 1607, when he resigned.

hood when Brewster came back from London. Many people had not heard a sermon for years; and such preaching as came to their ears was almost entirely supplied by clergy with slight pretensions to godliness. England had had what passed for a reformation, though, in point of fact, this had meant merely the substitution of the King for the Pope. Henry VIII was much more interested in the fat livings and rich sinecures which he was able to distribute among his followers than in the spiritual side of Protestantism. Yet all the while there was going on among the common people a deep longing for purity in the worship of God, for simplicity in the administration of ordinances and for a renovation of religious life. This was the origin of Nonconformity and Puritanism. Had Elizabeth and her successor, James the First, not driven out of the church by willfulness, tyranny and superstition those whose only desire was for more religion rather than less, we should perhaps never have had a *Mayflower* compact and the beginnings in America of the world's first real democracy.

Brewster believed with Wicliff that it is "God's Word that should be preached for God's word is the bread of souls, the indispensable wholesome bread; therefore to feed the flock in a spiritual sense without Bible-truth is the same thing as if one were to prepare for another a bodily meal without bread." Moreover, Brewster was convinced that the soul and the life of a preacher

must be in tune with his words or the words could have no power. The parson of his heart's desire was such an one as Chaucer had in mind :

a clerk

That Christ's pure gospel would sincerely preach
And his parishoners devoutely teach.

And the parsons of the day were, mostly, not in the least of this type! Cotton Mather asserts (in the "Magnalia") that those from whom Brewster and Bradford separated themselves "were as unacquainted with the Bible as the Jews seemed to have been with part of it in the days of Isaiah."

Reformers often fail to see the logical implications of the principles they promulgate. When Luther and Calvin asserted with all the power of their strong and sincere natures the right of every one to open the Bible and read it for himself, they created individualism, — though nothing was further than that from their thoughts. And when they conceded to any group of Christians the right to set up their own ministers they established at the same time the sovereignty of the people in the political field.

The early Puritans were not concerned with politics; religion absorbed them utterly. But the rulers of England sensed the trend of religious emancipation. Mary Stuart had asked John Knox, "Think you that subjects, having power, may resist their princes?" And he had replied, "If princes do exceed their bounds, Madam, and

do against that wherefore they should be obeyed, then I do not doubt but they may be resisted, even by power.”¹

The queen fully understood that there was dynamite in this answer. And when the son of this same queen ascended the throne of the Tudors, he was well aware that a struggle with the English people was impending. In a burst of temper at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 he declared that the Puritans were “aiming at a Scottish Presbytery, which agreeth as well with a monarchy as God and the devil.” It was at this same conference that he swore to “harrie the Puritans out of the Land or else do worse” if they would not conform themselves.

James had reason for this threat. The followers of Robert Browne had for some time been vehemently voicing their leader’s claim² that civil magistrates, like religious functionaries, ought to be chosen with the consent of the people, and King James was not so stupid as to miss the implications of this teaching. But he was quite incapable of clear vision, because the only thing he was really interested in was himself.

Edward Everett Hale, with his gift for clarifying and dramatizing history, has put into vivid words an incident which, though trifling in itself, illustrates this perfectly and is of particular

¹ John Knox, “History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland.” Book IV, 11. 14. Edinburgh, 1816.

² Made in his “Booke which sheweth the Life and Manners of all true Christians.” Middelburg, 1582.

interest to us because it brings us back once more to William Brewster and to Scrooby. When King James, aged thirty-five, traveled down from Scotland to London to receive the English crown (in 1603), he went through Sherwood Forest and spent the day, under good conduct, in hunting there.

"In that day's sport," writes Hale, "he passed the manor-house of Scrooby, where William Brewster lived."

Now the manor-house of Scrooby, though Brewster's home, belonged to the Archbishop of York, and because it so attracted the king that he thought he would like it for a royal residence whenever he might hunt again in Sherwood Forest the first letter written by the Presbyterian monarch to the Archbishop of York, after his arrival in London, was not a discussion of theology, but a proposal to the archbishop to sell to him this place for a hunting box. Yet here the Pilgrim Fathers were even then secretly meeting on the Lord's Day for their weekly worship; and here they continued to meet till this Presbyterian king "harried them out of the Kingdom."

At this time there was supposed to be but one Separatist Church in the whole of England,—that at Gainsborough, some twelve miles east of Scrooby, on the other side of Trent. The Separatist Church in this town had been established in 1602 with Robinson as minister, and it is probable that, for some time, the Scrooby Separatists

were of this fellowship, traveling on Sundays the long span — for those days — that separated the two towns and crossing the Trent by ferry. With the emigration to Amsterdam, about 1606, Separatism came to an end in Gainsborough and very little was thought of any connection between this place and the *Mayflower* men until, in June, 1896, Honorable T. F. Bayard, Ambassador from the United States to the Court of St. James, came down from London to lay the corner stone of a church just erected in the town "in memory of John Robinson, pastor and exile." Gainsborough, as a "shrine", had been lost sight of all those years, just as Scrooby had been.

A short walk of three or four miles from Gainsborough brings us to Austerfield, which is itself only a mile or two from Scrooby. Austerfield was the home of William Bradford. His family had deep roots in the soil of the town. When the subsidy of 1575 was collected, the only persons in Austerfield having sufficient property to be rated were a William Bradford and a John Hanson. Nine years later the son and daughter of these two, named William and Alice respectively, were married, and in due time two daughters and a son were born to them. This son was William Bradford, afterwards Governor of the Plymouth Colony. In the parish church may still be seen the entry of his baptism on March 19, 1589. The connection of the Governor of the Plymouth Colony with the church structure is much more

Anne - Tom 150

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Anno Domini 1847

297 Elizabeth ...
 William ...
 ...

Anno Domini 1588.

[illegible]

Anno Domini 1884

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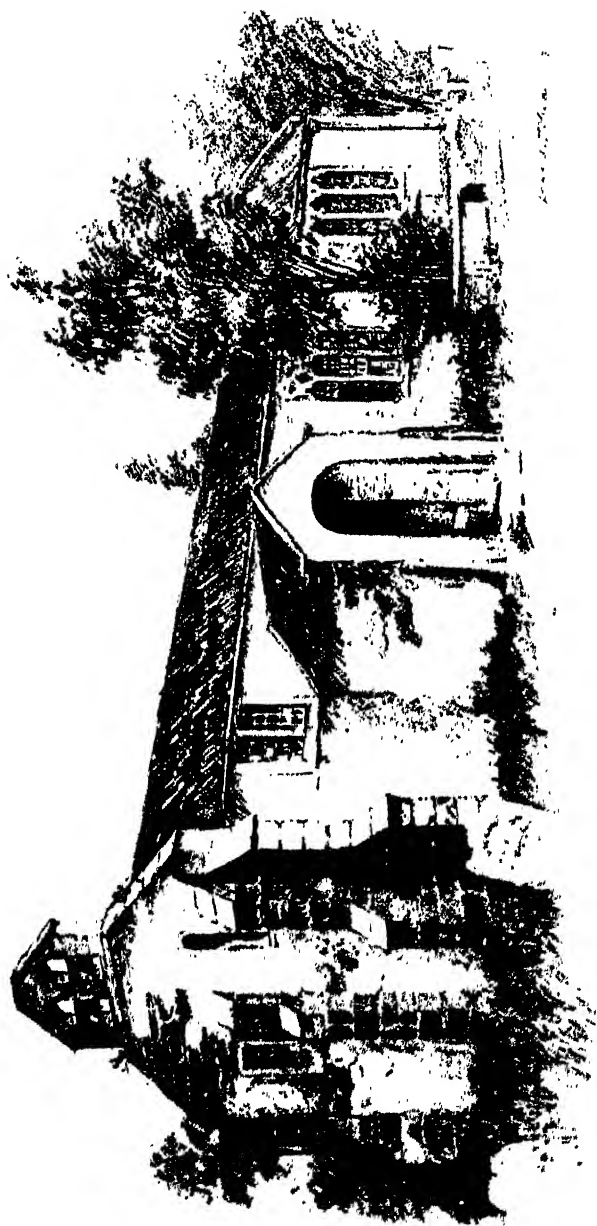
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John Smith, Son of William Smith, Esq. & Anne, his wife

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A PAGE OF THE REGISTER IN THE AUSTERFIELD CHURCH

The last entry shows the record of the christening of Governor William Bradford.



CHURCH IN AUSTERFIELD WHERE BRADFORD WAS BAPTIZED

From a drawing by Louis A. Holman.

clearly authenticated than with "the Bradford House" at the upper end of the village, which is said to have been his dwelling and in which, according to tradition, "the Pilgrims used to worship for fear of persecutors."

The youth of many of these Separatist zealots impresses one greatly! Bradford was only eighteen at the time he left his comfortable English home and his yeoman background to take up the uncertainties of life in Holland. It is probably because of the things he had suffered in Austerfield, while still so young, that he carefully omitted from the pages of his "History" all references which would have served to "place" the town where, in early life, he had undergone bitter experiences. To be sure, "persecution" is too large and too definite a word for the slights to which these men were subjected. Those who chiefly made their lot unhappy at home were their friends and neighbors, not the Church authorities nor yet those of the State. The various High Commissions cared very little how this obscure band of Christians worshiped. But their neighbors bitterly resented the "holier than thou" attitude of this group who refused to "conform", as the Puritans had done, and who, instead of siding with them against the Roman Catholic majority in Northern England, insisted that a hierarchy of bishops and deans bent on the union of Church and State was nothing less than anti-Christ.

Looking back after three centuries have elapsed, it is not hard to understand why the great majority of Puritans, whose aim was not to leave the Church but to stay in it and control it, had only scorn and disapproval for these extremists who seemed likely to jeopardize their success by forcing them into uncompromising opposition to the Crown.

There is extant an old pamphlet describing a "tumult in Fleet Street raised by the disorderly preachment, pratings and prattlings of a Swarm of Separatists, in the course of which we are told that one Separatist when caught alone was 'kickt' . . . so vehemently as if they'd meant to beat him into a jelly. It is ambiguous whether they have kil'd him or no; but for a certainty they did knock him about as if they meant to pull him to pieces. I confesse," concludes our writer with finality, "it had been no matter if they had beaten the whole tribe in like manner!"

The lesser men were beaten and "kickt" on occasions; their leaders were frequently sent to the gallows. Two of Robert Browne's friends, convicted of circulating his books, had been thus disposed of in Elizabeth's time. Now the Ruler of England was James Stuart, who regarded Puritanism with feelings which made the earlier opposition of Elizabeth seem mild by comparison. Holland was not far away, and William Brewster was already familiar with the life and habits of that people. Moreover, John Robinson and his con-

gregation had already made the transition to this hospitable and fairly accessible country where there was systematic legal toleration of all persons, whether Catholic or Protestant, who called themselves followers of Christ. Obviously, Holland was for the present, at least, the place for the men of Scrooby! It was in going to Holland that the Puritans of East Anglia took the first step which eventually made them "Pilgrims."

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST MIGRATION

IT took a lot of courage and initiative for the men of Scrooby and Gainsborough to set out on their migration to the Netherlands. We must not minimize this fact; for though they knew that they would there find religious liberty — William the Silent, when he became Governor of Holland and Zealand, had given a solemn pledge that exercise of the Reformed Evangelical Religion should be maintained and that no investigation of a man's religious belief would be permitted — the "Pilgrims" were of simple yeoman stock for the most, and the Holland of those days was greatly in advance of England so far as mercantile enterprise and the social amenities were concerned.

Bradford reveals a distinct shrinking on the part of his fellow emigrants from contact with a civilization they did not understand and with which they were not altogether in sympathy. He says, with quite touching simplicity :

Being thus constrained to leave their native soyle and countrie, their land and livings, and all their friends

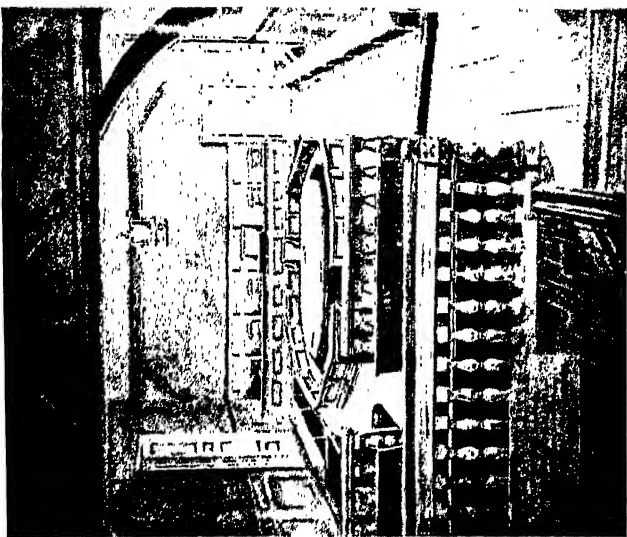
and familiar acquaintance, it was much, and thought marvellous by many. But to goe into a countrie they knew not (but by hearsay) where they must learne a new language and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place, and subjecte to the misseries of warr, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, and a misserie worse than death. Espetially seeing they were not acquainted with trades nor traffique (by which the countrie doth subsiste) but had only been used to a plaine countrie life, and the innocente trade of husbandrey. But these things did not dismay them (though they did sometimes trouble them), for their desires were set on the ways of God, and to enjoy His ordinances; but they rested on His providence and knew whom they had beleaved.

Moreover, going on journey was by no means a simple matter in those days. Edward Leigh, in his "Hints for Travellers", tells us that before a man could get permission to travel abroad he needed to be especially well acquainted with his own country, as to the places and government. "If any came heretofore to the Lords of the Council for a license to travel: the old Lord Treasurer Burleigh would examine him of England. If he found him ignorant; he would bid him stay at home, and know his own country first." None the less, if go a man would, having obtained the necessary passports — a thing by no means easy to accomplish, — he must "before his voyage make his peace with God, receive the Lord's Supper; satisfy his creditors, if he be in

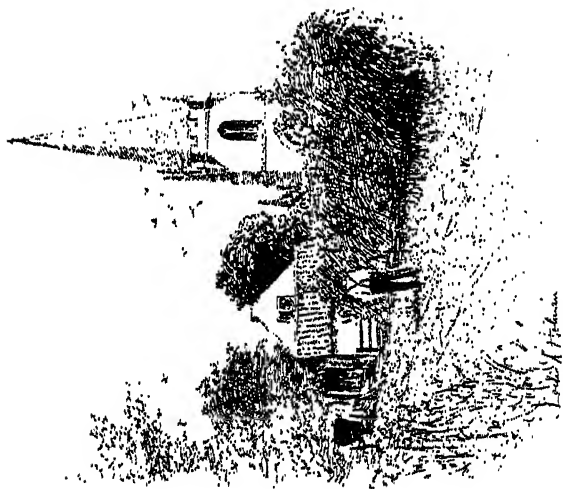
debt; pray earnestly to God to prosper him in his voyage, and to keep him from danger: and — if he be *sui juris* — he should make his last will, and wisely order all his affairs; since many that go far abroad, return not home.”

Notwithstanding all these prohibitions, however, those in the Scrooby group who had property to sell sold it early in the summer of 1607, and traveling overland to Boston on the coast of Lincolnshire, there waited, “a large company of them”, for the appearance of a certain shipmaster with whom they had arranged to be transported with their goods to Holland. When this person finally appeared and took them on board in the boat, they found themselves betrayed to the Customs’ officers and searchers of the district! Not only were they deprived of their books and goods, but they were paraded in the market place, “a spectacle and wonder to the multitude which came flocking on all sides to behold them.”

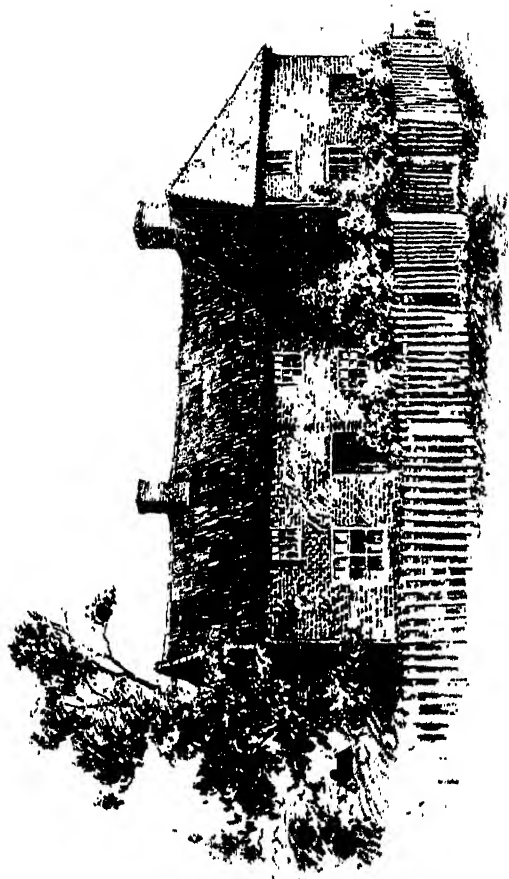
This, of course, because of that law which forbade people to emigrate. None the less, the confinement to which these prisoners were committed, pending instructions from London as to further proceedings, was honorable if annoying. And when the Privy Council did send back word concerning them, it was to the effect that they should be released, — all except seven of their leaders who were to be kept at Boston and turned over to the assizes. Of the latter Brewster was one, though, so far as we know, he was never tried.



COURT ROOM OF THE GUILD HALL IN OLD BOSTON
Here the Separatists were tried as they were escaping to
Holland.



THE CHURCH AND VICARAGE AT SCROOBY,
BREWSTER'S NATIVE VILLAGE IN ENGLAND.
From a drawing by Louis A. Holman.



BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM BRADFORD IN AUSTERFIELD

From a drawing by Louis A. Holman.

A number of the party actually reached Holland in the autumn of 1607.

Some months later the rest of the contingent tried again to escape from England, this time arranging with a Dutch captain to take them on board south of the Humber. It was arranged that the women, having sailed down the river Idle to the Trent, with the children and the baggage, were to meet at the Humber the men, who were walking overland. The boat-party arrived before the ship of the Dutch captain and, the sea being extremely rough, withdrew into a little creek to wait for a calm. When the ship-master and the ship which had been engaged put in an appearance the men were taken on board as planned, and all might have gone well but that a crowd from the countryside, who had heard that some one was escaping, appeared in the distance, so obviously looking for trouble that the Dutch captain was panic-stricken. Hoisting his sails he summarily departed with his men passengers only, leaving the women and children still stuck fast on the shoals of the creek! Bradford, Brewster and the other leaders who had remained on the shore with the women were, of course, captured by the formidable force sent out after them. Once more, however, the local authorities were perplexed to know what to do with these prisoners; and after making a half-hearted attempt to keep them at home, they again blinked the fact that here were people leaving England

without permission. So though there was again delay, considerable anxiety, and some temporary suffering incident to the migration to Holland, the whole party finally reached Amsterdam in safety, not much the worse for their experiences. Brewster and Bradford came among the last, having stayed to make sure that the weakest and the poorest should cross with no more discomfort than any of the others.

The feelings of these English Separatists, upon their arrival in Holland, Bradford describes thus: "Being now come into the Low Countries, they saw many goodly and fortified cities, strongly walled and garded with troopes of armed men. Also they heard a strange and uncouth language, and beheld the different manners and custumes of the people, with their strange fashions and attires, — all so farre differing from that of their plaine countrie villages (wherein they were bred, and had so long lived), as it seemed they were come into a new world. But these were not the things they much looked on, or long tooke up their thoughts; for they had other work in hand, and another kind of warr to wage and maintaine. For though they saw fair and beautiful cities, flouring with abundance of all sorts of wealth and riches, yet it was not long before they saw the grimme and grisly face of povertie coming upon them like an armed man, with whom they must bukle and incounter, and from whom they could not flye; but they were armed with faith and

patience against him and all his encounters; and though they were sometimes foyled, yet by God's assistance they prevailed and got the victory."

The Scrooby Church came over, as we have seen, in sections. Already two other groups of English Nonconformists had taken up their abode in Amsterdam: the "anciente church", as Bradford styles it — that is, the body of men from London over whom Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson were settled; and "Mr. John Smith and his companie" — that is, the Gainsborough Church, established here in 1606. Sometimes the three groups worshipped together but they did not mingle intimately in other ways. Citizens of London, the seafaring population of a provincial town like Gainsborough, and yeomen of Bradford's type had little of a social nature in common.

Amsterdam at this time was "the Fair of all the Sects where all the Pedlars of Religion have leave to vend their Toyes." In other words, though it was hospitable to heretics, it was the home of many a Church scandal. The "anciente church" had a particularly checkered career because of Francis Johnson. The first dark shadow on the character of this pastor came from his relations with his own family. In 1594, while still in the Clink prison, Francis Johnson had married a widow named Mrs. Thomasine Boys, whose first husband, Edward Boys, a haberdasher, had been a strong supporter of the Separatists.

At Boys' house in Fleet Street had been held the meeting at which Johnson was arrested. Boys himself underwent many imprisonments and finally died in the Clink.

Francis Johnson had a brother, George, and George, for the honor of the family, had tried hard to dissuade Francis from marriage with the Widow Boys, urging that she was much noted for pride and that it would give great offense to "the brethren." But all in vain. The most that George could do was to obtain a promise from the widow that, if she married Francis, she would "do as became his estate." Instead, she became more garish and proud in apparel than before. The Church was deeply offended, but left it to George to deal with her. He wrote to Francis, protesting against her gold rings, her busk, and her whalebones, which were so manifest that "many of ye saints were greeued"; he begged that her "schowish hat might be exchanged for a sober taffety or felt"; and he even offered to raise money to provide her with more suitable garments should the question of expense stand in her way. She did reform a little; her hat was not "so topishly set", and George was encouraged to hope for further reforms; but when members of the congregation urged him on to more complaints, the pastor's wife became "very peert and coppet."

Naturally Francis bitterly resented these criticisms of his bride; her clothes were all provided

out of her own money and apparently were perfectly suitable to her rank. For the nonce, the brothers buried the hatchet and quite a friendly feeling existed between them on their voyage and journey to Amsterdam. But once there, George felt himself slighted and meanly treated by his brother, who did not invite him to share his large house; and thinking, perhaps, that the pastor's wife was to blame for this neglect, his criticisms of her broke out with fresh venom.

Before a church council George was called upon to answer for his carpings. He had charged Mrs. Francis, among other things, with sin in the using of musk and the wearing of a topish hat, and he was not inclined to withdraw his charges. The poor lady seems to have been prone to worldly headgear, for a "veluet hood" was also a cause of contention. The council, after deliberation, declared the hat to be "not topish in nature", whereupon a lengthy discussion ensued as to whether a hat not topish in nature could, under any circumstances, be considered topish, it having been particularly condemned in her as the pastor's wife. George, who was a literal-minded person, asked to have this problem reduced to writing, and he made further accusations of flightiness and sloth, notably that she had "laid in bed on the Lord's day till 9 o'clock." He had other disagreements with his brother, too, concerning the appointment of elders and the government of the church. So, after vain endeavors to keep

him quiet by bribes of office, Francis finally excommunicated him publicly in 1599. In 1603 was published an unfinished "Discourse" by George Johnson, which relates this whole story.

One is not surprised that poor Mrs. Thomasine was overheard to say, as these quarrels proceeded, that she wished she were a widow again. As a widow she could have worn any hat sufficiently becoming. What is amazing is that, considering the perils they had gone through, and the straits they were in to earn a bare existence, the Church should have been shaken by such trivial matters as these. The instinct to criticize and call to account was strong in all the transplanted churches of Amsterdam, however; and the kindest explanation of George's conduct is that he had, as some said, "a crackt brain." The poor fellow had suffered enough to crack even a strong brain, and apparently his had always been weak. When his father petitioned, in 1594, for the release of his two sons, he declared that "the younger called George (in the Fleet) hath been kept sometimes two days and two nights together without any manner of sustenance; sometimes twenty nights together without any bedding save a straw mat; and as long without any change of linen; and all this sixteen months in the most dark and unwholesome rooms of the prison they could thrust them into; not suffering any of his friends to come unto him."

George Johnson's book shows that he was really

conscientious and well-meaning; but his littleness and obstinacy must have been irritating in the extreme. And when Francis found that he was determined to disturb not only his domestic peace, but the peace of the church, he had some excuse for the excommunication.

Besides this "Old Clothes Controversy", there were many other struggles and disagreements between the various church groups in Amsterdam. So many that, when the leaders of the Scrooby Church took serious counsel together, in the summer and autumn of 1608, they decided that they must seek out some place where there were neither heretics nor English. Some place where they would be alone, or nearly so, in their observation of the Ordinances of God as they hoped to perpetuate them. Accordingly, after staying less than a year in Amsterdam, they moved on to Leyden.

But before we take leave of Amsterdam and its theological bickerings, with our Pilgrim idealists, let us do justice to it, as Bradford attempted to do, when he wrote his "History." Though he disapproved of much that went on in this first city of the Pilgrims' habitation, he came in his old age to see that there were some fine things about the churches there, — even about the church life of the men with whom he felt little sympathy. And for the young people of Plymouth, who were anxious to know how their fathers and grandfathers had lived while in Holland,

he wrote of the "anciente church" in his "Dialogue."

Truly there were in them many worthy men, and if you had seen them in their beauty and order, as we have done, you would have been much affected therewith, we dare say. At Amsterdam, before their division and breach, they were about three hundred communicants, and they had for their teachers those two eminent men before named, and in our time four grave men for ruling Elders, and three able and godly men for deacons, and one ancient woman for a deaconess, who did them service many years though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honoured her place and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation.

One notes an interesting foreshadowing here of the tithingman of old New England.

There were other things, too, in this Dutch city for the Pilgrims to take away with them for adaptation in the New World. The attitude of these people towards the old and the infirm, for instance, was markedly Christian and greatly in advance of England at this time. Fynes Moryson, who was in Amsterdam in 1592, records that there were then two *Gastheusen* "that is Houses for Strangers which were of old Monasteries. One of these houses built round, was a Cloyster for Nunnes, wherein sixty beds at this time were made for poore women diseased, and

in another chamber thereof were fifty-two beds made for the auxiliary soldiers of England, being hurte or sicke, and in the third roome were eighty-one beds made for the hurte and sicke Soldiers of other Nations: to which soldiers and sicke women they give cleane sheets, a good diet and necessary clothes, with great cleanliness, and allow them Physitians & Surgions to cure them: most of the Cities in these Provinces have like houses.”¹

Not only were the Dutch of those days very merciful to the poor and the sick, but they were also exceedingly kindly one to another. Moryson writes:

They are a just people, and will not Cozen a Chylde, or a stranger, in changing a peece of gold, nor in the price or quality of things they buy. For equall courses among themselves, I will give one instance, small for the subject, but significant to prove their general Inclination. The very wagonners if they meete other wagonns in the morning whyle their horses are fresh, use to give them the way, but if they meete any in the afternoone, comming from neerer bating places when their horses beginne to be weary, they keepe their way, by a generall Custome among them, that they who have gone more than halfe the way, shall keepe it against all that have gonne less parte of the Journey. And they love equality in all things, so they naturally kick against any great eminency among them, as may be proved by many instances. . . . For they have fewe gentlemen among

¹Fynes Moryson: “An Itinerary,” Part I, p. 44.

38 THE DAYS OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

them in Holland . . . having of old rooted out the Nobility.¹

The Dutch of Amsterdam, as of the rest of the Netherlands, "loved equality in all things." This love of theirs was to have an important bearing on the subsequent history of the Separatists from Scrooby.

¹ "Shakespeare's Country." P. 369.

CHAPTER IV

THE FORMATIVE YEARS IN LEYDEN

LEYDEN was the place the Pilgrims pitched upon for their second home in Holland. Doubtless the fame of the university had something to do with this choice. But the favorable economic opportunities afforded by this flourishing city of fifty thousand people, given over to the manufacture of cloth, likewise had a bearing on the matter.

Bradford, who was nineteen when this move was made, calls Leyden "a fair and beautiful city and of a sweet situation." In many ways the town should have been particularly congenial to men from Scrooby and Austerfield. It lay on the dunes,¹ just as their home towns did, and being a college city, it somewhat resembled Cambridge. Brewster earned his living here at first by teaching English "after the Latin manner", that is to say, grammatically, not as a vernacular, and had many pupils, Danes and Germans as well as Dutch.

¹ Leyden: *legt bey de dunen* (lieth by the sand-dunes). "If a man dig two feet in any part of Holland he shall find water."

But he soon abandoned teaching for printing; the Elzevir Press had made Leyden a center of book publishing and as a result there was much for a man of letters to do.

The Pilgrims spent about eleven years in all in Leyden. During the last three of these years they were busy arranging for their departure to America. Long and anxiously did they discuss who should go and who should stay. Finally it was decided to vote on the matter, the understanding being that, if a majority resolved on immediate departure, Pastor Robinson was to accompany them; if a minority he was to remain and come later. The vote showed that less than half their number were desirous of immediate departure, so Robinson remained behind, it being understood, however, that he only awaited a summons¹ to join those of his flock who were to set out under Brewster's leadership.

John Robinson is the outstanding figure of the seven years which the Separatists passed in this University City, for it was here that the Pilgrim Church, as we now speak of it, was organized with the pastor from Gainsborough formally elected its minister just as Brewster was formally elected its elder. A remarkable man, John Robinson! Not only was he endowed with keen intellectual perceptions and wide learning, but he was a leader in the truest and best sense of the word, and a

¹ Before the summons came he died, early in March, 1625, being not yet fifty years old, and was buried in St. Peter's church, Leyden.



THE COURT OF A DUTCH HOUSE

From the painting by De Hooch in the National Gallery, London.



JOHN ROBINSON'S HOUSE, LEYDEN, HOLLAND

The tablet set in the front of the building reads: "On this spot lived, taught and died
John Robinson."

graphic writer into the bargain. From the books he wrote we gain quite an idea of Pilgrim government and theology at this time.

The worship at Leyden was wont to be held in the lower rooms of a rather considerable house, centrally located and in the very shadow of the university's library. Robinson and his family lived in the upper story of this house. The service used resembled that common to-day in many Congregational churches. First, there was an extemporaneous prayer by the pastor or teacher. Then followed the reading of two or three chapters of the Bible in English, with a liberal paraphrase of the passage by the teacher or elder. A psalm was then sung in English without accompaniment. Next came the sermon in which the pastor expounded doctrine or explained the application of the Scriptures to the individual conduct of his congregation. Another psalm, or perhaps several other psalms, were next sung, after which, at stated times, the Lord's Supper and baptism were performed. Just before the service closed a collection was taken, the proceeds of which were devoted to the salaries of the officers and the needs of the poor. The Bible they used was the Geneva version and the translation of the psalms, that made by Ainsworth in prose and meter, which was published in London in 1612.

Robinson's great skill in the management of people had plenty of scope in Leyden, for the members of the Church governed themselves to

a great extent, the minister and his assistant acting as umpires in settling whatever disputes arose.

Unlike Amsterdam, the Leyden Church tended to give more and more power to the congregation. The Separatists were naïvely surprised when they discovered that this logically implied the right of their own members to make up their minds individually concerning the widely varying interpretations of Scripture passages made by the sects all about them. Gradually they came to see that, *if they would continue to hold together*, they must get away, for all time, from the atmosphere of schism which seemed to be everywhere about them.

Europe was too full of churches and contentions, of doctrines and dogmas. "The vast and unpeopled countries of America," as Bradford called them, began to beckon very alluringly to them. Guiana was thought of as a place to go; also Virginia. But South America was held to be too tropical in those days for Englishmen; and Virginia was in bad repute because, out of the migration of one hundred and eighty persons lately made from the Amsterdam Church to that land, no less than one hundred and thirty died because they had been "packed together like herrings" in a ship too small and badly victualed. The rest of this migration naturally returned to Holland full of complaints. Yet if they would attain that independence in ecclesiastical affairs which they

were determined to achieve, America seemed the only place for them.

Bradford was keen for going, and he has thus eloquently phrased the argument of the majority to which he belonged.

It was answered, that all great and honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted the dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though there were many of them likely, yet they were not cartaine; it might be sundrie of the things feared might never befall; others by providente care & the use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them, through the help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne, or overcome. True it was, that such attempts were not to be made and undertaken without good ground & reason; not rashly or lightly as many have done for curiositie or hope or gaine, &c. But their conditon was not ordinarie; their ends were good and honourable; their calling lawfull, & urgente; and therefore they might expecte the blessing of God in their proceeding. Yea, though they should loose their lives in this action, yet might they have comforte in the same, and their endeavors would be honourable. They lived here [in Leyden] but as men in exile, & in a poore condition; and as great miseries might possibly befall them in this place, for ye 12. years of truce were now out, & there was nothing but beating of drums, and preparing for warr, the events wherof are allway uncertaine. The Spaniard might prove as cruell as

the salvages of America, and the famine and pestelence as sore hear as ther, & their libertie less to looke out for remedie.

Already their liberty was being encroached upon by England as a result of Brewster's book-publishing activities and from the resemblance between his name and that of Thomas Brewer, his business partner. But the most impelling reason for going was that they would lose their identity if they stayed. Their young people were so exceedingly human in their tendency to marry the pretty girls of their adopted country!

Glad as the men from Scrooby had been to take refuge in Holland, they were invincibly English in their ideals and their ways of life, and many of the Dutch customs tried them sorely. Perhaps the most authentic, as well as the most colorful, contemporary description that we have of Dutch life is from the pen of Fynes Moryson, and as we read what he has written of life in the Netherlands at this period, we understand why the men from East Anglia felt the urge to plant a colony overseas. Though Moryson admired the democratic ideals of the Dutch, he had little taste for their ways of life — medieval Englishman that he was — when they tended, as they apparently did, to make women the equal of men. He writes it down with regret that "in all meetings the number of women and girles doth farr overtop the number of men and boyes, at least five to one" and ill conceals his horror as he records "that as the

women in these Provinces overtopp the men in number . . . so they commonly rule their famylyes. In the morning they give their husbandes drinking mony in their purses, who goe abroad to be merry where they list, leaving their wyves to keepe the shop and sell all thinges. And nothing is more frequent, then to see the girles to insult and domineere (with reproofes and nicknames) over their brothers, though elder then they be, and this they doe from the first use of speech, as if they were borne to rule over the malles. Yea many women goe by Sea to traffique at Hamburg, for marchantdize, whyle their husbandes stay at home.”¹

Moryson further records that in a literal, as well as a figurative sense, many women in Holland “wore the breeches.” (One cannot picture Brewster and Bradford approving of this!) Because the winter was “very sharpe in these Provinces, lying open to the Sea Northward, without any shelter of hills or woodes . . . some wemen of the best sort wore breeches, of linnen or silke stufes to keep them warme; but commonly the wemmen sett with fyer under them, in passetts namely little pans of Coales within a case of woode boared through with many hole on the tope, which remedy spotting the body is less convenient then wearing of breeches.” Is it not interesting that, after three hundred years, women should now again wear “breeches” without shame

¹“Shakespeare’s Europe.” P. 382.

when they find this mode of attire "convenient"?

The daughters of these "advanced" Dutch women were accorded a great deal of liberty. And, apparently, knew how not to abuse their freedom too!

The women of these parts give great liberty to their daughters. Sometyms by chance they slyde on the yce till the gates of the Citty be locked, and the young men feast them at Inns in the subburbs all the night, or till they please to take rest. Sometyms the young men and virgins agree to slyde on the yce, or to be drawn with horses upon sledges to Cittyes 10:20 or more myles distant and there feast all night, and this they doe without all suspicion of unchastity, the hostesses being careful to lodge and oversee the women. In like sorte the mothers of good fame permitt their daughters at home, after themselves goe to bedd, to sett up with young men all or most part of the night, banqueting and talking together, yea with leave and without leave to walke abroad with young men in the streets by night. And this they doe out of a Customed liberty, without prejudice to their fame.¹ . . . Some that are betroathed make long voyages, as to the East Indies, before they be maryed, and in all voyages where the master of the shipp is a wooer, they hang a garland of Roses on the topp of the mayne mast.

Perhaps the tendency of the Dutch woman, here noted by Moryson, to take plenty of time before becoming a wife was due to the protracted period of mourning incumbent upon her if she

¹ "Shakespeare's Europe." P. 385. Cf. the data on bundling in Puritan Massachusetts as given in my "Social Life in Old New England."

became a widow. Not only did she mourn long but custom saw to it that she mourned thoroughly. "Some gentlemen and others of the best sorte dying," writes Moryson, "had their Armes sett upon their doores for a year following, and the widowe so long kept her house, no man for halfe a yeare entering her Chamber, nor any speech being made to her till the yeare was ended for any second maryage." "Maryage", when it did come, either to widow or virgin, was not infrequently merely a civil ceremony, our observant traveler further tells us. "I have seene some maryed without a ringe, only Joyning handes insteede thereof." The men of Scrooby had too lately been in the Church of England to approve of such informal mating as this.

None the less the Dutch had their sturdy virtues, and we of New England owe them much. They were "most industrious and skillfull workemen", as Fynes Moryson records, "and the richest amongst them cause their Children to be taught some arte or trade, whereby they may gayne their bread in the tymes of warr, or banishment, or like adversities."

Apprehension lest the morale of their young people as *English folk* should be broken down by continued residence in Holland was an important cause of the decision to emigrate to America; but the occasion was the persecution of William Brewster, printer.

Among the many liberties which people in

England were obliged to go without at this period, but which could be measurably attained in Holland, was liberty of the press. Printing on English soil was only possible in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin and at the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge. In London, where most of the printing was done, it was a prison offense for a man to buy type and a printing press. Only freemen of the Company of Stationers were allowed to print; and even of those freemen the number who could actually *print* the books was exceedingly limited, though all of them were allowed to sell or bind books once they had been printed.

A master printer might have only one hand press, when setting up in business, and could never have more than two, even after he had risen high in the Stationers' Company. On May 9, 1615, there were only nineteen printing houses in London, possessing, in all, thirty-three hand printing presses.

It was the custom for London compositors of this period to set up books at home and then to take the "formes of type" to the residence of the master printer to be struck off. Every night the hand printing press was carefully locked up to prevent secret printing and regularly, every week, searchers appointed by the Stationers' Company went through the house of each master printer, in order to see what books were at press and whether they had been properly licensed. Thus it was practically impossible to print in England any-

thing which the king or the bishops did not wish to have printed. Such books were, accordingly, printed on the continent and smuggled into England. William Brewster helped to print them in Holland.

Brewster had little besides his brains to invest in a printing plant, but there was another man in the Leyden group, Thomas Brewer by name, who had money. Thus it came about that the firm of Brewer and Brewster, as it might have been styled, gave King James cause for protracted worry. This firm has likewise caused the historians considerable trouble by reason of the resemblance between the names of the two men chiefly concerned and because the Dutch scribes were scandalously careless in their dealings with English patronymics. For years the subsequent experiences of Brewer and Brewster were confused by all the writers. We owe to the careful investigations carried on at the Hague for a long period by H. C. Murphy and then published in the *Historical Magazine*¹ the true facts of the case.

The object of the Pilgrim Press, as it has been called, was the publication in English of books intended for circulation in England, but prohibited by the Government. The edition, when ready, was shipped to London, to be sold there by Puritan and Separatist friends of the group in Holland. Sixteen books at most represent the entire output of this press during the three years 1617, 1618,

¹ Volume IV, Boston and New York, 1860.

1619. One of these, printed by Brewster himself in 1619 — David Calderwood's "Perth Assembly", in which was exposed King James' political chicanery in attempting to compel the Scottish churches to conform to the Anglican establishment — stung the English king into hot pursuit, through his ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, of the two men responsible for its publication. Sir Dudley insisted that Brewster had broken the Dutch law by printing and exporting this book, and he put the bailiffs on his trail.

Though undoubtedly the printer chiefly responsible, Brewster with his family was able to make his way safely to England, by the aid of friends; and lived there from July, 1619, until the *Mayflower* sailed. His capitalist partner was apprehended, but escaped serious penalty largely because the University of Leyden, on whose books he was enrolled as a scholar, was induced to treat the case as one of university privilege. All this put an end, however, to the Pilgrim Press and made it more clear than ever that if the men from Scrooby were to "follow the gleam" they must find a new field for their life and labors.

By the time this case had come to a head, Brewster, who had not been marking time in England, had already made good progress in the overtures which eventuated in the sailing of the *Mayflower*. One of his young companions, while he was in the service of Secretary Davison, had been Sir Edwin Sandys (son of the Archbishop of

York), who was afterwards treasurer of the Virginia Company. The Virginia Company was known to be anxious for colonists and it was also understood among the Separatists that Sandys, like his father, had strong leanings towards Puritanism. Moreover the Brewsters, father and son, had been postmasters at Scrooby during the years of the elder Sandys' primacy and so were known through and through to the Sandys family. Much hope was placed in this long-standing connection. At the outset, indeed, the Separatists frankly set forth in their proposals their religious nonconformity and attempted to secure explicit recognition of the stand they felt obliged by conscience to take regarding the relation between Church and State.

For a time everything went well; King James even made a joke about the Pilgrims' proposed means of livelihood in America. Asking how they expected to support themselves when they got there, and being told by fishing, he replied with his ordinary asseveration, "So God have my soul! 'tis an honest trade! it was the Apostles' own calling." Yet not long after this, probably during the summer of 1618, he suggested that the Separatists now proposing to emigrate have a conference about the matter with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London; which suggestion so roused the suspicions of the leaders at Leyden that they decided to give up any attempt to secure an explicit recognition of their religious

nonconformity before leaving Holland. They recalled quite clearly certain instances of men who, though permitted to *leave* England, were practically banished "unless they shall be contented to reforme themselves", after accepting an invitation to talk matters over with the noble bishop.¹

The exact sequence of events subsequent to the autumn of 1618 and during a large part of the winter of 1619 cannot be established by direct evidence. Edward Arber in his "Story of the Pilgrim Fathers" and Ames in his "Log of the Mayflower" have made painstaking attempts to trace every step of the Pilgrims' journey from Leyden to Plymouth Rock and to buttress their assertions with appropriate dates. But since to do this definitively is practically impossible at this distance of time, one must be content here with generalizations, taking comfort in the fact that the very writers who are most categorical in the matter of dates are certain to make the most mistakes. Roland G. Usher, who has freshly reviewed all the available material and has given us in his book, "The Pilgrims and Their History", a work at once scholarly, compact, and readable, declares that the character of existing material and the actual lack of evidence makes it absolutely impossible to be too sure about all these dates and data.

What we do know is that when the news got around that this group of Separatists in Holland

¹ Privy Council Register, March 25, 1597.

were looking for capital with which to support a venture in America a number of different offers of help were made to them. Many of these fell by the way after the manner of such offers; but in June, 1619, William Brewster and Robert Cushman were sent to London with instructions "to end with the Virginia Company as well as they could", and a patent was actually granted at this time authorizing the planting of a colony. Weary months of waiting again followed, and when the proposal submitted by the Dutch capitalists that they should settle in the Dutch-American colony, then called the New Netherlands, now New York, had to be finally rejected because the Dutch would not guarantee to protect them against external foes, despondency very nearly overtook them all. In the spring of 1620, however, a certain John Weston crossed from England to Leyden to announce that some seventy "Adventurers" were prepared to subscribe the capital required for the ships and other necessities of the voyage. On harsh terms, to be sure! But terms which were eventually accepted. Thus it was finally agreed:

(1) that every Adventurer who contributed £10 of capital should receive one share in the enterprise;

(2) that every emigrant of sixteen years of age and over who went in person to the new colony should be credited with a £10 share;

(3) that for seven years the whole product of the labor of the colony should be divided among

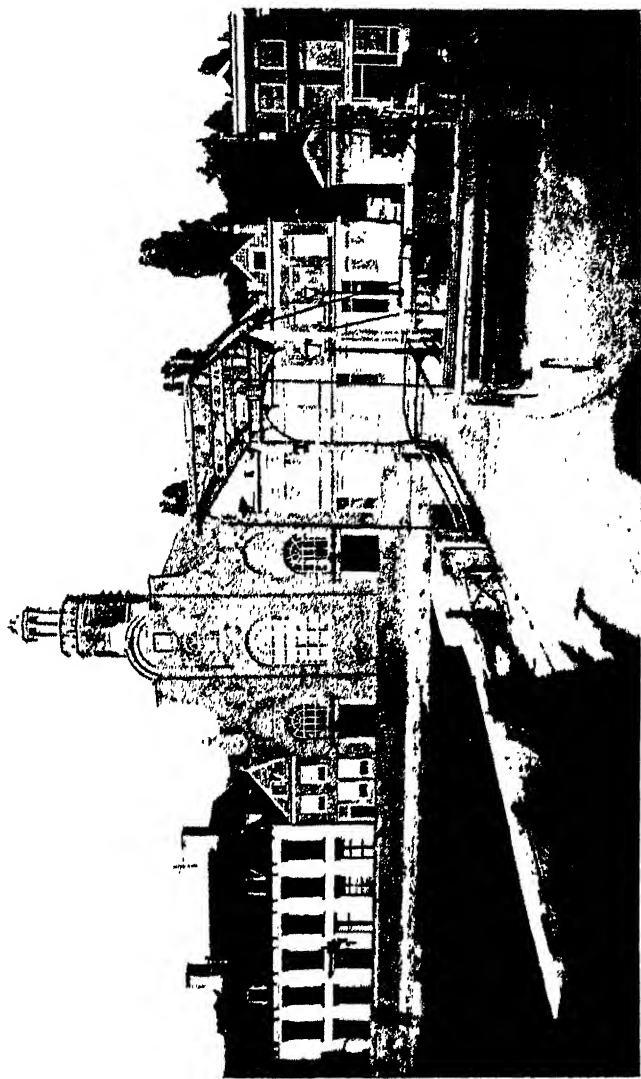
the shareholders in proportion to the number of their shares;

(4) that at the end of the seven years there should be a general division among the shareholders of all the property at that time in possession.

Obviously these were terms pretty close to actual serfdom. Yet they were the terms made, the terms under which the *capital was subscribed*. The precise sum raised in 1620 is not clear, but four years later, the money actually expended amounted to about seven thousand pounds. It is therefore plain that, under the terms of the compact, the ninety-two adult passengers who eventually crossed the Atlantic can have looked to receive very little over one-eightieth part of the product of their toil.

It was with the money subscribed by the London Adventurers on the harsh terms just quoted that the *Speedwell*, a ship of sixty tons, was bought and sent to Delftshaven, Holland, to convey the Pilgrims to the New World by way of Southampton. At the English city the *Mayflower*, a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons, had been chartered to meet them with provisions and stores. Then, with the *Speedwell*, the *Mayflower*, it was arranged, was to fare forth on the long passage across the Atlantic.

The last day which the Separatists passed at Leyden was spent at Robinson's house and given over to humiliation, fasting, and prayer. Doubt-



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DELFTSHAVEN, HOLLAND

Showing East India House from whose dock the Pilgrims in the *Speedwell* embarked on their Great Adventure.



PLYMOUTH ROCK



THE STONE WHICH MARKS THE PLACE AT PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND,
WHERE THE MAYFLOWER PASSENGERS TRANSFERRED FROM THE
SPEEDWELL, EN ROUTE TO THE NEW WORLD

less there was also psalm-singing, a long sermon, and a great deal of discussion. Probably there was some sort of farewell feast, too, as the little company set forth, on July 21, 1620, for Delftshaven, passing down the Vliet on canal boats, a journey of about twenty-four miles. With a voyage across the Atlantic the commonplace it has come to be in our day it was hard, five years ago, to understand the misgivings that must have well-nigh overwhelmed these men and women as they made ready for their voyage westward. But with the terrors of the deep as Americans have known them during the late war in mind, it is not so hard to visualize the courage required to undertake this journey.

Delftshaven is now a part of Rotterdam, and as one enters or leaves the principal shipping city of Holland on the steamers of the Dutch or Holland-America Line, one sees on each side splendid buildings of masonry, brick, or iron. Nevertheless the chief canal, streets, and older quays were much the same three hundred years ago as now; very appropriately the tree-lined avenue with a southern exposure which fronts the main channel of the Maas River has been called, since July, 1892, "Pilgrim Kade", that is to say, Pilgrim Avenue or Quay.

Leyden Street in the chief town of the Pilgrims, on the other hand, bears witness to the affection with which memories of the formative years passed by the exiles in the University City of Holland

have been cherished on the American side of the Atlantic.

The solemn injunctions of Pastor Robinson, as the little company took its leave, have come down to us accurately through the printed page, but the pictures which most of us associate with this historic occasion are, of course, utterly untrustworthy. "He charged us," Winslow records, "before God and His blessed Angels to follow himself no further than he followed Christ; and if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of His, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry. For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of His Holy Word."

The affection in which Robinson was held by all shines through Bradford's description of the scene as they took their leave: "Truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting, to see what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound among them. . . . Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. But the tide, which stays for no man calling them away that were thus loath to depart, their reverend Pastor falling down on his knees . . . commended them with most fervent prayers to the Lord and His blessing. And then with mutual embraces and many tears they took their leaves one of another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them."

Four days of fair wind carried them to Southampton where they found the *Mayflower*, which had already been waiting for them a week. Also waiting was John Weston and the articles as finally amended, ready now for the signatures of the principal members just arrived from Leyden. Weston was pretty exigent in regard to these signatures, and the Pilgrims showed their exceeding humanity by being equally obstinate about agreeing to the amendments. Finally, becoming very angry, Weston told them "to look to stand on their own legs" and left for London without paying the port dues of nearly £100 owing on the *Mayflower*. Fearful lest they become embroiled with the authorities by reason of this bill, the Pilgrims sold some firkins of their precious butter and so raised the money to clear port. When, on August 5, they did set sail, the captain of the *Speedwell* declared that his ship was leaking, and there was another delay while the leak was mended at Dartmouth. Again they made off, but again the *Speedwell's* captain asserted that his vessel was not seaworthy. So, putting into Plymouth, those who in spite of all these harassing delays were still of good courage transferred to the *Mayflower*. Though overcrowded and hence very uncomfortable, that ship sailed alone, September 6, 1620, for the New World. All told there were one hundred and two passengers on board.

Rather curiously, only two of these passengers, William Brewster and William Bradford, whom an

English writer has called the Aaron and Moses of the New England enterprise, can be traced from Scrooby and Austerfield in England to Leyden, and thence to Plymouth. And, including children, only thirty-three others of the Leyden congregation sailed; the remaining sixty-seven of the company joined the group just as it was about to leave England. Yet the Leyden *influence* was so strong as to outweigh the English numerical preponderance. Plymouth life — American life — would never have been what it is had there not intervened those seven formative years in the city on the sand dunes of Holland.

CHAPTER V

THE ENGLAND FROM WHICH THEY FLED

THE mind of the English people of those days teemed with thoughts and excitements of which we in our time can have no just conception. Our understanding of what the Pilgrims faced and felt as they left Europe behind them must depend therefore upon the force of our imagination hardly less than on the extent of our reading.

The great questions, both of politics and religion, which then agitated society were comparative novelties. The wonders of the New World and of the whole southern hemisphere were discoveries of yesterday. National questions were debated with a degree of passionateness and earnestness such as we of the twentieth century have only lately felt; while distant regions loomed before the fancies of men in alliance with everything shadowy, strange, and mysterious.

In the early seventeenth century, the Old World seemed to be waking at the side of thoughtful Englishmen as from the sleep of ages, and a new world rose to their view, presenting treasures which seemed to be inexhaustible. The wonder

of to-day was succeeded by the greater wonder of to-morrow, and revelations appeared to have no end. At the same time, to very many, their native land had become as a house of bondage, and the waters of the Atlantic a stream which separated them from their promised home. So if we are to understand the Pilgrims in even the most superficial way, we must try hard to put ourselves back three hundred years. One way to do this is to consider the conditions of life in the England from which they fled.

Not only was Law, as we of English traditions understand it, struggling still for existence, but everything and everybody was still subordinate to the *royal pleasure*. Moreover, England did not then have even a weekly—not to mention a daily—newspaper. The former did not come into existence for twenty-two years more, the latter for one hundred and nine years. Twenty-eight years had still to elapse before William Harvey should publish his discovery of the circulation of the blood; sixty-six years before Newton, sitting in his garden, should start the train of thought which led to the recognition of the Law of Gravitation. Not until one hundred and sixty years later was there a street light in London; and, perhaps most important of all, two hundred and forty years had still to roll by before letters could be prepaid by stamp, so ushering in the era of cheap postage.

Before the reign of Henry the Eighth the only

letters of which any record exists — letters to and from the Court and on affairs of State — were sent by couriers employed for the particular purpose who were styled “Nuncii” and “Cursores.” These messengers appear to have formed an important branch of the royal establishment. Their titles remind us of the officials who bring messages in some of Shakespeare’s historical plays. Sir Brian Tuke, as Master of the Posts, to whom was given the task of setting up posts “in al places most expedient”, wrote to Thomas Cromwell in 1533, “Sir, it may like you to understand the Kinges Grace hathe now no ordinary postes nor of many days hathe had, but betwene London and Calais . . . and sens October last, the postes northewarde. . . . For, Sir, ye knowe well, that, except the hakney horses bitwene Gravesende and Dovour, there is no suche usual conveyance in post for men in this realme as is in the accustomed places of France and other parties.”¹

The original function of Sir Brian Tuke was to see that, where no post existed, the royal couriers were not kept waiting for horses. These horses were provided by the townships, and to keep the townships up to their duty was one of Sir Brian’s privileges. At Leicester, for instance, the members of the Corporation bound themselves under penalty to keep four post horses in constant readiness for their sovereigns’ use and, when such an equipment was not at hand, the magistrates

¹ Herbert Joyce: “History of the Post Office.”

and constables were expected to seize horses wherever they could be found. Until long after the reign of Henry the Eighth this close connection between the post and the sovereign continued. And as late as 1621 all the posts of the kingdom, which even then were only four in number, started from the Court.

Elizabeth standardized the mail deliveries of England. Every post was to keep and have constantly ready, she enacted, two horses at least with suitable "furniture." He was to have at least two bags of leather well lined with baize or cotton, and a horn to blow "as oft as he meets company" or four times in every mile. After receiving a packet he was to start off with it within fifteen minutes and to ride in summer at the rate of seven miles an hour and in winter at the rate of five. The packets thus treated were, however, only those which had to do with the queen's affairs or the affairs of the State. All others were "to passe as by letters"; that is, they might be taken along by the post but he was not to go for the purpose of taking them. This quite casual postal service was, however, adequate for the time, as writing during the sixteenth century was an accomplishment possessed by comparatively few.

The secondary function of the posts was to facilitate traveling, and in this direction the service extended with considerable rapidity. So much so that, when James the First came to the throne, he had to make strict regulations to check

the abuse of traveling at the sovereign's charge and for the sovereign's use. Many people, he discovered, had been using the service of the posts while traveling on their own affairs. James also made it more difficult than it had been heretofore to convey letters of a private nature. In fact it grew to be so difficult for travelers to travel and for letters to be conveyed that the posts came to be regarded and were largely employed "as an instrument of police!"¹

A postmaster on the great roads was in those days required to keep relays of horses for forwarding the letters, and to furnish rest and refreshment for travelers as well as actually to aid, sometimes, in the matter of accomplishing the journey. It was an office of high responsibility and had nothing whatever to do with the conveyance of private letters. These were not conveyed by the public posts till some years afterward. Sir Timothy Hutton on a journey to and from London in 1605 paid the post at Scrooby, probably Brewster, "for post-chaise and guide to Tuxford 10s and for candle, supper and breakfast, 7s-10d, so that he slept under Brewster's roof." On his return he paid 8s to the post at Scrooby for conveying him to Doncaster, then reckoned seven miles, and 2s for "burnt sack, bread, beer, and sugar to wine, and 3d to the ostler."

Yet since most of the people could neither read nor write, means of conveying letters, though

¹ Joyce, p. 7.

interesting, were scarcely vital. Up to the seventeenth century the common people, generally, were quite illiterate, but this was more true of church folk than of Dissenters. The Reformation was of immense importance in the matter of advancing education, for every parent spiritually stimulated thereby desired to read the Bible for himself and to teach his children to read it also.

"Theology rules there," said Grotius, speaking of England two years after Elizabeth's death. In this observation there was much truth. The invention of printing and the publication in the vernacular tongue of the sacred Scriptures worked a complete moral change in Europe, and the English then became, in the pregnant words of John Richard Green, "the people of a book and that book the Bible. . . . The whole moral effect which is produced nowadays by the religious newspaper, the tract, the essay, the lecture, the missionary report, the sermon, was then produced by the Bible alone, and its effect in this way, however dispassionately we examine it, was amazing. . . . A new moral and religious impulse spread through every class."

For children whose parents could not personally instruct them, a rudimentary school was often kept in the little room over the church porch. Frequently, too, a weaver or a tailor would have pupils about him while at work. The book used by these groping scholars — after they had learned their alphabet from a hornbook — would be Ed-

mund Coote's "The English Schoolmaster." Here, following columned pages given over to *ab*, *eb*, *ib*, etc. we find the following edifying bit of text:

"Boy, go thy way to the top of the hill and get me home the bay nag. Fill him well, and see he be fat, and I will rid me of him for he will be but dull as his dam; if a man bid well for him I will tell him of it (his fulness); if not, I do but rob him: and so God will vex me, and may let me go to hell, if I get but a jaw-bone of him ill."

Eight such chapters of constantly increasing difficulty, from the standpoint of the beginner at reading, make up the first book of this exemplary volume.

Obviously John Brinsley had a good case, when, writing in 1622 of the grammar schools, which should have been of so much better quality than those using Coote's textbooks, he voiced thus the lamentations of many parents:

"My sonne hath been under you six or seven years, and yet is not able so much as to reade English well; much less to construe or understand a piece of Latin, or to write true Latin or to speak in Latin in any tolerable sort. . . . Another shall complaine; my sonne comes on never a whit in his writing. Besides that his hand is such that it can hardly be read; he also writes so false English that he is neither fit for trade, nor any employment wherein to use his pen."

In another of his books Brinsley blames play for these deficiencies of scholarship. "Schooles, gen-

erally," he says, "do not take more hinderance by any one thing, than by over often leave to play. Experience teacheth, that this draweth their mindes utterly away from their bookes, that they cannot take paines, for longing after play."¹

The grammar school was, of course, the "free" school of the period. But these schools were "free" only in the sense that they were open without charge, or at small charge, to boys of a restricted neighborhood or to promising lads selected by some one in the upper classes who would subsequently send them to college. Lads proceeded to Cambridge or Oxford from these "free grammar schools" at the age of fourteen or fifteen. Of schools of this type two hundred fifty-two are traceable to a period before 1600; but Roger Ascham, who was educated in one of them, is our authority for believing that the tongue-and-lip teaching inculcated by them in his time, at least, "never ascended up to the brain and head and therefore was sone spitte out of the mouth againe."

Children were wont to enter these "free" schools at the age of about seven or eight, Brinsley tells us — and as he himself was, in 1601 and for many years after, master of such a school at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, we could not find a better authority — and had to report for work at six o'clock in the morning. At nine o'clock there came a quarter of an hour's intermission; and the

¹ John Brinsley: "The Grammar School." London, 1627.

forenoon session ended at eleven. Afternoon school was from one to half-past five with a short recess at three. The day's work closed with the reading of "a peece of a Chapter", the singing of "two staves of a Psalme" and prayer.

Even for the fortunate lads who, having been to grammar school, proceeded thence to college, there was not much really in the way of what we to-day should regard as education. Mathematics, Logic, and Rhetoric were the three college studies, the "Trivium", which qualified for the bachelor's degree. Then to become a master of arts a youth studied for three years more the "Quadrivium", — Philosophy, Astronomy, Perspective, and Greek. Theology also received much attention, and Arithmetic was likewise recognized as an acquirement to be encouraged. That very little, however, was really done with the last-named study may be seen from the fact that Pepys (who before graduating an M.A. at Magdalen, Cambridge, had been at school both in Huntington and in London) records as late as 1662 :

"By & by comes Mr. Cooper . . . of whom I intend to learn mathematiques, . . . After an houre's being with him at arithmetique (my first attempt being to learn the multiplication-table); then we parted till tomorrow." And at this time Mr. Pepys had been for some years in the public service !

Only an overwhelming desire to be able to read the Scriptures could have supplied sufficient in-

centive, under such difficulties, to learn to read at all. There were almost no books of general interest. Indeed most of the writers commonly accounted Elizabethan could not possibly have been in the average English library at the time the *Mayflower* sailed for the New World. In prose Bacon, Burton, Thomas Fuller, Milton, most of Raleigh, Jeremy Taylor, and Izaak Walton would be lacking, as in poetry would be that gifted three, Milton, Herbert, and Vaughan, three Beaumonts, three Fletchers, most of Drayton, Donne, Carew, George Sandys, Ben Jonson, — and the greater part of Shakespeare himself. Brewster's library of three hundred ninety-three volumes, which, carefully catalogued, long remained the literary treasure-house of the Old Colony, contained of historical works twenty-four; of philosophical six; of poetical fourteen; miscellaneous fifty-four. And Brewster might, of course, be called a man of literary tastes by reason of his temperament and his Cambridge training.

Books being few and costly, and newspapers and magazines having not yet come into general circulation,¹ it was natural that people should have grown into the habit of spending the larger part of their leisure on games and kindred amusements. For indoor sports there were riddles, jests and merry tales, cards, dice, draughts, shuttlecock,

¹ The first proper newspaper in English appeared in 1622 (Enc. Brit.), though pamphlets of news began to appear soon after the coming in of the seventeenth century. Burton: "Anatomy of Melancholy." 1614.

shovelboard (then called shove-groat) and, in the higher walks of life, chess. Dancing, too, of course; and out-of-doors wrestling, quarterstaff, pitching the bar, tilting at the ring, football, hurling, barleybreak,¹ running at quintain,² and shooting at butts, with fishing, hawking, and hunting. Archery was required by royal order with careful specifications as to the size and quality of the implements. In the realm of what we should call entertainment, wandering companies of minstrels and harpers were common, and rude plays were acted before the public. In London the gallants of the time strolled up and down from 3 to 6 P.M. in Paul's Walk, the middle aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral; and bull and bear baiting, masques and the theater filled out other hours which threatened to hang heavy on their hands.

For the common people the great days of the Church brightened the year. At Christmas, New Year's, May Day, Twelfth Day, Plough Monday (the first Monday after Epiphany), Shrovetide (the period between Ash Wednesday and the preceding Saturday evening), Easter, Whitsuntide, Candlemas Day, Martinmas and All Hallow's Eve — to name only the outstanding festivities — there was

¹ This game was played by six people, coupled by lot, on a ground with three compartments, the middle one being named "hell." The middle couple, who could not break hands, had to catch the others, who were allowed to do so, those caught taking the place of the catchers.

² In this game a bar was balanced on a pivot with a broad board at one end and a bag of sand at the other. The play was to hit the board when riding by and escape the bag as it was thrown around suddenly.

merriment which often went so far and consumed so much time as to tend to grave corruption of manners. Thus Philip Stubbes in 1583 said of Christmas :

“Who is ignorant that more mischief is [at] that time committed than in all the yeere besides? What masking and mumming whereby robberie, whordome, murther and what not is committed! What dicing and carding, what eating and drinking, what banqueting and feasting is than [then] used more than in all the yeere besydes! to the great dishonour of God and impoverishing of the realme.”

We have here, of course, the Puritan protest. And it was because of protests like unto this one that the Puritans came to be hated. Life in England was becoming increasingly drab, by reason of economic pressure; and on this very account the people clung the more tenaciously to the “merrie” diversions of an earlier time.

Macaulay, in his “Essay on Milton”, voices, on the plane of the spiritual, the widespread resentment at the “holier than thou” frame of mind which was so often confused with the Puritan idea :

“Puritans were men whose minds had devised a peculiar character from the daily contemplation of superior beings and eternal interests. Not content with acknowledging, in general terms, an overruling Providence, they habitually ascribed every event to the will of the Great Being, for

whose power nothing was too vast, for whose inspection nothing was too minute. To know him, to serve him, to enjoy him was to them the great end of existence. They rejected with contempt the ceremonious homage which other sects substituted for the pure worship of the soul. Instead of catching occasional glimpses of the Deity through an obscuring veil, they aspired to gaze full on the intolerable brightness, and to commune with him face to face. Thence originated their contempt for terrestrial distinctions. The difference between the greatest and meanest of mankind seemed to vanish when compared with the boundless interval which separated the whole race from him on whom their own eyes were constantly fixed. They recognized no title to superiority but his favor; and confident of that favor they despised all the accomplishments and all the dignities of the world."

The Puritans, being only the Low Church party in the Church of England and not dissenters — Separatists — from the established Church like the Pilgrims, would willingly have stopped short of throwing all the games overboard, however. They would have been quite content to reform their *abuses*. (So we shall find a distinct difference in the ways of keeping Christmas between the settlements at Plymouth and at Massachusetts Bay.) For by the time of the Pilgrim exodus, England had for some years ceased to be notably "merrie." Save where a

mockery of vitality had been preserved to the old games and pageants by compulsion of the town authorities, they had died out because of the increased number of depressed workers. The struggle to earn a livelihood, quite as much as the Reformation, was responsible for the increased soberness of life to be noted in most of the towns at this time.

The crafts were strong, and the Guild Hall, which was the center of the work life of the day, stood side by side in the market place with the parish church. These two institutions summed up the multitudinous activities of the common life, the church predominating in importance. For the church was the fortress of the borough against its enemies, the place of safety to which in the hour of danger arms might be taken for storage in the steeple, and corn, wool, or other precious goods for protection in the body of the sanctuary.¹ A sentence of excommunication hung over all who should violate this sacred protection.

From the twelfth century, wool, the one great export of England and the one great source of wealth, looms large in history. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there had been an elaborate system for the protection of the raw wool trade; but by 1546 England's chief business had come to be exporting cloth.

The fall of Calais, in 1558, was an important contributing factor in the attention which England,

¹ Mrs. J. R. Green: "Town Life in the Fifteenth Century."

by the Pilgrims' time, was giving to the business of manufacturing. Manchester had just created a market for its "coatings" or cottons; Norwich and Sandwich had received a considerable immigration of makers of baize, serges, bombazines, and beaver hats; Coventry had become famous for its "true blue" woollens, and other towns were putting out attractive green cloths. Since Yorkshire had plenty of English wool, the Flemings were invited there to work it up, while in London, this clever "assisted immigration" made felt hats; at Bow, they worked in the dyeing industries; at Wandsworth wrought in brass; and at Fulham and Mortlake fabricated arras and tapestry. As yet there were no factories, however, all work being done at home and no man being allowed by statute to have more than two looms.

It was about this time, too, that Yarmouth workers learned from the Dutch, who came to dwell among them, how to cure herrings; and lead and tin, having been melted in Cornwall, appeared in England on the roofs of the churches and on occasional mansions.

William Harrison, whose books about the customs and manners of his time¹ are among the most fascinating sources of information that we have, says that old men in his village "noted three things to be marvelously altdred in England within their sound remembrance." One was the number of chimneys; in their youth not more than two

¹ Harrison was appointed Canon of Windsor in 1586.

or three could be seen smoking in most country towns. The second was sleeping accommodations. Instead of lying, at best, upon a flock-bed stuffed with coarse wool, with a sack of chaff for a bolster, the farmer now had feather beds, sheets, and pillows, — *pillows* which had formerly been accounted such luxuries that they were used only by women bringing children into the world. The third change was in the realm of table furniture. Where the fathers had eaten with wooden platters and spoons, their sons, says Harrison, would have a fair array of pewter with a full dozen of spoons.

The increase in the number of villages referred to by Harrison was, of course, the most important of these three changes. Previously the land outside the towns had been largely unenclosed, while at intervals of from two to four miles would be the parish church and a few cottages. Not far away would commonly be the manor house of the squire who probably owned the greater part of the land within sight. Though the rooms of this mansion would often be spacious and the walls might even be wainscoted with native oak or hung with tapestry, the dwelling would ordinarily be of two stories only, the upper story overhanging the lower. The construction would be of brick or stone, though it might be framed of strong timbers, studded and filled in with stones and clay. Glass, however, was rapidly taking the place in the windows of the lattice work pieced out with horn or

oiled paper through which the light had formerly entered.

The domestic offices and farm buildings of the squire's establishment would be near his home but not necessarily under the same roof. In the better residences the home included a large hall and a chapel. The dwelling of the yeoman commonly had several rooms and was roofed with reeds. Laborers' cottages seldom included more than two rooms and were constructed of clay walls upon a timber frame.

Nearly every home had a garden, though the common people were only just beginning to learn the value of vegetables as cheap and wholesome food. The potatoes brought to England in Raleigh's vessels had been received with much less enthusiasm than the tobacco similarly introduced. Harrison, however, enumerates melons, pumpkins, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, parsnips, carrots, cabbages, and all kinds of salad herbs as within the reach of all classes. Orchards on many an humble place yielded apples, pears, plums, walnuts and filberts, while the grounds of the gentry often produced, besides, cherries, apricots, peaches, grapes, almonds and figs.

In Elizabeth's time the fondness of the upper classes for vegetables amounted almost to a passion and caused them to welcome with enthusiasm any addition to their supply of roots and esculent greens. The alacrity with which they adopted the American tuber is a case in point. Ten years

after Raleigh's adventurers brought the first potatoes from Virginia this vegetable was being commonly grown and enthusiastically eaten in England. And whereas in Henry's time we hear much of a dearth of vegetables, in Elizabeth's day tulip roots (dressed with sugar), radishes, pumpkins, artichokes, fourteen kinds of colewort "including the colie-flore or coleflore, and the great ordinarie cabbage", cucumbers, carrots, parsnips, turnips, beet, asparagus, and onions were all greatly used, as were also lettuce, spinach, cresses, and many other esculent leaves good for salads. There was always a question whether oil or butter should be employed in dressing these vegetables, but English taste inclined to butter. The Elizabethan housekeeper who grudged butter to the parsnips she set before her guests gained an ill name. "Apologies," says the adage of that period, "wont butter parsnips." Potatoes were also profusely dressed with butter. Cucumbers were thought by many to be decidedly indigestible, however dressed, this being also true of mushrooms, against which Edmund Gayton wrote :

Pepper and oyl and salt, nay all cook's art,
 Can no way wholesomeness to them impart,
 What Dr. Butler said of the cucumber,
 Of these ground-bucklers we the same aver,
 Dress them with care, then to the dung-hill throw 'um,
 A hog wont touch 'um if he rightly knowe 'um !

Then, as now, the English generally preferred flesh or fish to vegetables for steady diet. And

they cared little for the oysters and clams so abundant in the land of their adoption. One of the greatest difficulties the Pilgrims had to face was that of learning to *like* to eat the things easily obtainable in New England. Though in Harrison's time an Englishman could eat whatever he could afford to buy, "except it be upon those daies whereon eating of flesh is especially forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of cattell may be the better increased, & that aboundance of fish which the sea yeldeth, more generallie received", it is recorded that white meat, milk, butter, and cheese, though very dear, were eaten only by the poor, the rich eating brown meat, fish and fowl, wild and tame.

Which brings us, of course, to the subject of class distinctions and their attendant differentiations in ways of living. The English people at this time were divided horizontally into four ranks: gentlemen, citizens, yeomen, and laborers. The citizen class, made up of freemen of cities competent to vote for and sit in the lower house of Parliament, included also some conspicuously successful merchants. In the fifteenth century this class had been particularly numerous and powerful, but by the time of the Pilgrim exodus had greatly declined. The same was true of the yeomen, — in the third rank. Most of these were farmers and freeborn, men who from their own land had an annual income of not less than six pounds.

These are the men usually spoken of in early New England history as "Goodman" this or that.

Petty merchants who had no free land, hand-workers, poor husbandmen and day laborers were in the fourth class, while below them were the unemployed and the unemployable, the criminals and the rogues bred by the wars. It is interesting to note that the writers of the time clearly recognized the social disintegration almost certain to follow war. "For it is the custome of the more idle sort," we read, "having once served, or but seen the other side of the sea under color of service, to shake hands with labour forever, thinking it a disgrace for himselfe to return unto his former trade."

Too great an increase in population was held by many statesmen to be responsible for the appalling number of the unemployed and of those who could not support themselves. But Harrison sturdily refutes their conclusions. He writes:

Some also doo grudge at the great increase of people in these daies, thinking a necessairre brood of cattell farre better than a superfluos augmentation of mankind. I can liken such men best of all unto the pope and the devil, who practice the hinderance of the furniture of the number elect to their uttermost, to the end the authoritie of the one upon earth, the deferring of the locking up of the other in everlasting chaines, and the great gaines of the first, may continue and indure the longer. But if it should come to pass that any forren invasion should be made, which, the

Lord God forbid for his mercies sake! — then should these men find that a wall of men is farre better than stackes of corne and bags of monie, and complaine of the want when it is too late to seeke remedie.¹

Sir Frederic Eden ascribes the development of the indigent poor as a distinct class in England which had to be supported and which then easily became criminal largely to the beginnings of the growth of commerce and manufacture, which dates from the stimulation of wool production and its attendant consolidation of petty farms into large sheep-raising tracts. One shepherd could now take the place of a dozen men who had previously earned a living by working on the land. The dispossessed ones, deprived of all means of respectable self-maintenance, inevitably became vagabonds; and just as inevitably broke the laws of the land.

Parliament first attempted in 1536 to cope with the problem of poverty by enacting that voluntary alms should be collected in each parish for the purpose of relieving the impotent poor. And the famous Poor Law of Elizabeth provided in 1601 for the erection and maintenance of poorhouses by parishes,² especially commending that those unable to work should be relieved therein. This

¹Harrison's "Description of England." Pp. 215-216. Furnivall's Edition.

²The first poorhouse in England was erected in Bristol in 1697. It was a "work house" in the true sense of the word; inmates were compelled to work if able, the idea being in part to make them contribute to their own support and in part also, at first, to teach them trades.

new Act was only gradually carried out, however, and in 1622 "a well wisher" complains, in a tract called "Grievous Groans for the Poor", "that the number of the poor do daily increase, there hath been no collection for them, no not these seven years, in many parishes of the land, especially in country towns; but many of those parishes turneth forth their poor, yea, and their lusty laborers that will not work, or for any misdemeanor want work, to beg, filch and steal for their maintenance, so that the country is pitifully pestered with them; yea and the maimed soldiers that have ventured their lives and lost their limbs on our behalf are also thus requited . . . so they are turned forth to travel in idleness (the highway to Hell) . . . until the law bring them unto the fearful end of hanging."

Not to thieves and vagabonds alone were extreme punishments meted out. As a matter of stern fact England was grossly callous to all human suffering at this time, and almost absolutely without regard, too, for human life. The cruelties of the stocks and of its mate, the ducking-stool, and the lashings, scourgings, and whippings for which Old New England is so often reproached,—none of these originated on the American side of the water. The overwhelming proofs of this are sickening to record. Let a few instances suffice.

In 1580 it had been declared treason in England for any one to leave the Established Church and

become a Roman Catholic. I suppose it is not so very surprising, therefore, to find that in 1621, within six months after the sailing of the *Mayflower*, a Catholic gentleman named Floyd, who was imprisoned in the Fleet, having excited popular displeasure by speaking slightly of the Elector Palatine and his wife, was actually sentenced to be degraded from his gentility, to be held infamous and incompetent to testify in a court; to ride from the Fleet to Cheapside on horseback with no saddle and with his face to the horse's tail, which he was to hold in his hand; there to stand two hours in the pillory and to be branded with the letter K; four days later to ride in the same manner from the Fleet to Westminster, and there stand two hours in the pillory with words on a paper on his hat setting forth his crime; to be whipped at the cart's tail from the Fleet to Westminster Hall, to pay a fine of £5000 and to remain a prisoner in Newgate for life.

Similarly drastic sentences were meted out to men who, by spoken or written word, opposed the Church of England. For publishing in Holland, in 1628, "An Appeal to the Parliament, or Sion's Plea against the Prelacie", a work by no means extreme for the time, Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, was unanimously condemned¹ by the Star Chamber to degradation from his ministry,

¹ John Rushworth: "Historical Collection", II: 55-57. London, 1680. Reading further in this interesting volume about Mr. Leighton's case, one is cheered to find that he was assisted by friends to escape from prison.

to imprisonment for life, to a fine of £10,000 — a sum which must have staggered the imagination of a Scotch dominie — to be whipped and set in the pillory at Westminster in the presence of the Court, to have one of his ears cut off and his nose slit, to be branded in the face with the letters S S (Stirrer of Sedition), to be imprisoned in the Fleet, to be whipped and pilloried again on a market day in Cheapside at some convenient later time, and to have the other ear cut off.

The appalling thing about these sentences is the relish they reflect for cruelty as such. And the public taste grew no better in this regard for several generations. Evelyn relates with zest in his *Diary* for January 30, 1660, that Cromwell's body had been dragged out of its tomb in Westminster and exposed on the gallows in Tyburn from nine in the morning till six at night, and that this spectacle was thoroughly enjoyed by thousands who had seen the "arch-rebel" in all his pride. On October 17, 1660, he tells us that though he saw not the execution of Scot, Scroop, Cooke and Jones, he "met their quarters, mangled and cut and reeking, as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle." While Pepys writes, in this same connection (October 21, 1660), "I met George Vines who carried me up to the top of his turret, where there is Cooke's head set up for a traitor, and Harrison's set up on the other side of Westminster Hall. Here I could see them plainly."

Obviously an age that could enjoy the sight of a mangled head on a spike would not be delicate in its personal habits. We are told that King James never washed his hands, and Pepys declares that his own wife spent the "Lord's Day", November 22, 1668, in "making herself clean, after four or five weeks being in continued dirt."

Yet at this time England had quite clearly defined standards of manners set down in books; had, indeed, possessed such standards of a sort for two centuries, — ever since the publication, in 1430, of the first English manual of etiquette. Quite a literature of Books of Courtesy and rhymes on the best ways of living the daily life had sprung up by the dawn of the seventeenth century. The injunctions in some of these books are amusing by reason of their absurdity. William Vaughan, writing in 1602, for instance, advises wearing a "nyght cap of scarlet" with "a hole in the top through which the vapour may goe out." And even the famous Doctor Andrew Borde, whose admonitions are in many respects as worthy to be followed to-day as when he penned them, writes solemnly, "In the nyght let the windows of your houses specyalle of your chambre be closed."¹

Blood-letting was the common cure for every variety of illness. It was thought that tumors could be reduced by being stroked with a dead man's hand and for erysipelas even so wise a man as Bacon advised using the warm blood of kittens.

¹ Doctor Andrew Borde on Sleep, Rising and Dress. 1557.

As a cure for leprosy he advocated a bath of infant's blood!¹ It is easy to find many other "cures" equally revolting. Scrofula, then called "king's evil," required the touch of the sovereign himself for its cure. Charles II averaged four thousand such cures a year.

The drink habit, of course, was everywhere rampant, even among those accounted the best people. Sir William Penn was not infrequently so drunk as to be wholly incapacitated for business and many a young parson "got himself drunk before dinner" without losing either his own or his parishioners' respect. Doctor Andrew Borde in his "Dyetary" of 1542, strongly advises against water as a beverage, counseling that people, for health, drink ale and wine. Water seemed to him of small value for bathing purposes, also. He tells his readers to wash their faces only once a week if they wish to clear it of spots, wiping the face between times with a "Skarlet cloth."

Health standards developed rapidly, however, as the sixteenth century drew towards its close. In Hugh Rhodes' "Boke of Nurture or Schole of good manners" — and the admonitions of this counselor are of particular interest to us because he was born and bred in Devonshire — we find :

Ryse you earley in the morning,
for it hath propertyes three :

¹"History *Vitæ et Mortis*." Longman (1858) Translation. Vol. V, p. 307.

Holynesse, health, and happy welth,
as my Father taught mee.
At syxe of the clocke, without delay,
use commonly to ryse.

Make cleane your shoes, & combe your head,
and your cloathes button or lace:
And see at no tyme you forget
to wash your hands and face.

A page or two later in this same book¹ advice is given against spitting on the table, blowing the nose on the napkin, throwing bones under the table and picking the teeth "with thy Knyfe."

The table was not the only place where gross manners prevailed. Ladies received their male friends while in bed or while dressing; people paid their respects to the bridegroom and the bride after they had retired upon their wedding night, and fashionable women wore masks to the theater that they might not be put to the trouble of trying to blush at the vulgarity of many of the plays there exhibited. In the country marriages were often put off till late and in the city among the higher classes were solemnized at a ridiculously early age. Evelyn (II:77, 135) speaks of the marriage of the only daughter of Lord Arlington at five years and of her remarriage at twelve years.

Of a piece with this preposterous custom of child marriage among the rich were the clothes worn by the nobles of the time. Harrison solemnly

¹"Imprinted at London in Fleetstreete, beneath the Conduite, at the Signe of S. John Evangelist, by H. Jackson." 1577.

asserts that often, in London, he could not tell the gallants from women, so elaborate were their clothes. Joseph Strutt says¹ that a special gallery was erected around the inside of the Parliament House for the accommodation of the "bombasted" or "beer-barrel" breeches of the period, — breeches so ample that they could be used as wardrobe trunks, apparently; at any rate there is a fairly well authenticated story of a man who took out of his breeches a pair of sheets, two tablecloths, ten napkins, four shirts and a brush, glass and comb as well as nightcaps.

This exaggeration in men's attire was largely due to Queen Elizabeth, who liked magnificence and the bizarre in those about her. It therefore behooved a gallant not only to adorn himself grandly but also to cultivate grandeur in those of his household if he wished to make an impression on the Virgin Queen. The Earl of Hereford once met his sovereign at Elvatham, attended by a retinue of *three thousand men* fitted out for the occasion with black and yellow feathers and gold chains. In the light of this bid for a lady's favor, Shakespeare's Malvolio, mincing about in cross garters and yellow stockings, ceases to be too fantastic for belief. Exploration among the fashions of this period greatly helps one to understand Shakespeare; and to understand Bradford. There were styles deliberately designed to emphasize cer-

¹ "Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England." Ed. 1842, vol. II, p. 144, *note*.

tain portions of the human figure and so to stimulate impurity. One ceases to wonder why the Pilgrims left England, after reading such a book as Doctor John Bulwer's "Pedigree of the English Gallant."¹

The provident traveler who carried sheets, tablecloths, and napkins in his wide trousers brings us, by an easy transition, to the general subject of transportation facilities three hundred years ago. Even in London, coaches could not be hired previous to 1630. Most Englishmen who could afford to do so rode their own horses. Yet along the chief thoroughfares there were posthouses about every ten miles; and between London and the chief towns carriers made regular trips with long covered carts and would accept a passenger, provided he were willing to stay at the inns where the carrier lodged. Near London, Fynes Moryson tells us, the roads (in 1617) were "sandy and very faire, and continually kept so by labor of hands." But once outside thickly settled territory, highways quickly became mere bridle paths, with only an occasional bridge over the streams, most of which, therefore, had to be forded, — unless the traveler chose to creep across on a single timber and cling to a handrail at its side, leading his wading or swimming beast with the hand left free. The old Roman roads had long since ceased to be kept passable.

¹ This is an appendix to his "Man Transform'd, or the Artificial Change-lin'" (London: 1650): a work written to show how clothes were perverting at this time the "regular beauty and honesty of nature."

Making a journey under such conditions was naturally a thing that took time.¹ So, of course, there had to be many inns; and outside the great cities these were almost uniformly good. Falstaff's assertion that a man could take his ease in his inn is supported by both Fynes Moryson and Harrison. The latter asserts that many of England's thriving towns had sumptuous inns in the sixteenth century which were well furnished and in which every guest had clean sheets. Some of these could lodge three men and their horses, "and with a verie short warning make such provision for their diet, as to him that is unacquainted withall may seem to be incredible."²

Breakfast, as we understand the meal, was conspicuous by its absence at these excellent inns and in most households. J. C. Jeaffreson, in his entertaining "Book About the Table", tells us that the morning draught at the inn was, in fact, "the ordinary breakfast of the majority of Englishmen. . . . Unless they bear this fact in mind readers of old biographies are apt to attribute tavern-haunting propensities to sober and discreet gentlemen."

None the less the frequency of Shakespeare's allusions to breakfast demonstrate that this repast was fairly common in Elizabethan England.

¹ It required from three o'clock on Thursday morning till daybreak on the following Sunday for a messenger, traveling as fast as he possibly could go, to convey from London to York such an epoch-making piece of news as the death of Elizabeth!

² Harrison, p. 109. Furnivall's Edition.

Thomas Cogan, a contemporary of Harrison's — and scarcely less an authority than the Canon of Windsor himself on the table customs of their time — bears witness to "breakfast, dinner, and supper" as the three regular daily meals of well-kept Englishmen towards the close of the sixteenth century. Rising about six o'clock, it was the general custom of these folk to breakfast after making the toilet, to dine at ten or eleven o'clock and to sup at five in the afternoon. Harrison's schedule fits this, — save for the breakfast.

"With us," he says, "the nobilitie, gentrie, and students doo ordinarilie go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to supper at five, or between five and six afternoone. The merchants dine and sup seldome before twelve at noone and six at night, especially in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noone, as they call it, and sup at seven or eight; but out of tearme in our universities the scholers dine at ten. As for the poorest sort, they generallie dine and sup where they may, so that to talk of their order of repast, it were but a needlesse matter."

The diet of the poor consisted largely of rye or barley bread soaked in pot-liquor. This was called *brewis*. The mainstay of their table in winter was salted bacon or mutton and pickled herrings or other fish. Meat pie without a bottom crust (called *florentines*) was the favorite dish of practically all classes, especially when made with venison. No deprivation to which the Pilgrims

were subjected pressed quite so hard as the impossibility of securing daily on New England's rock-bound coast a meal in which the pastie was wont to form the *pièce de résistance*.

Common folk ate their food with wooden or latteen (iron plated with tin) spoons from wooden trenchers, using with abandon the knife dear to their fathers; and people of all classes aided themselves without apology with the fingers, it still being some years before forks were introduced from Italy. Napkins were therefore in great demand. Where a large establishment was maintained, a long table was spread in the hall and a large salt-cellar, placed midway on the board, divided the sheep from the goats, as it were; that is, retainers and domestics sat *with* the family but *below* the salt.

In such households, life was not altogether unhappy despite the horrors of the pillory, the black shadows of religious persecution, and the uncertainty which pressed on a large proportion of the population as to where the next meal was coming from. The ugly conditions which this chapter has been attempting to set forth all existed; but there were mitigations as well. For one thing there was no standing army in England at this time; and though most men were liable to serve in the militia and were drilled systematically from one to six times a year, armor had now become decidedly less cumbersome than formerly.

People following the seasons' round of agricul-

tural duties had many happy times, too. And it was from farmer folk chiefly that the Pilgrims were recruited. So, though there were deep and definite shadows darkening the land they left behind them, it must be remembered that it was none the less a land dear to them, — a place where familiar duties were tied up with deeply-rooted associations. To minimize the sacrifices they made in leaving it for the wilderness would be to fail to give due weight to one very important aspect of their character.

But they had caught a vision of freedom for all men which gave them strength to make the sacrifice. They had tried to make their dreams come true nearer England and had failed. England, they had discovered, was not appreciably worse than the continent. The general drift of public affairs *all over Europe* at this time was towards tyranny and oppression. In Germany, Ferdinand II was carrying on the Thirty Years War to suppress Protestantism and the liberty for which Protestantism stood. Spain, under Philip III, had already become an autocracy. And France was qualifying for the moment when Louis XIV should say, "I am the State." There was nothing left for the Separatists but an overseas venture; and no phase of such a venture was possible for them except one they should carve out for themselves. The thought of Jamestown and Chesapeake, where a comfortable colony was already in existence, was almost of necessity

rejected because it was felt that, having suffered and sacrificed so much for the sake of escaping Episcopacy, it would be folly indeed to transplant themselves to a settlement in which the Church of England had taken firm root.

Moreover, the lure of colonizing an utterly unknown section made an enormous appeal to this religious-minded group, steeped in Biblical lore and guided in their conduct by scriptural traditions and examples. The idea of wending their way to a new land which they should possess in the Lord's name came to them with irresistible force. Yonder was their Canaan to be won and peopled for the Lord's purposes!

CHAPTER VI

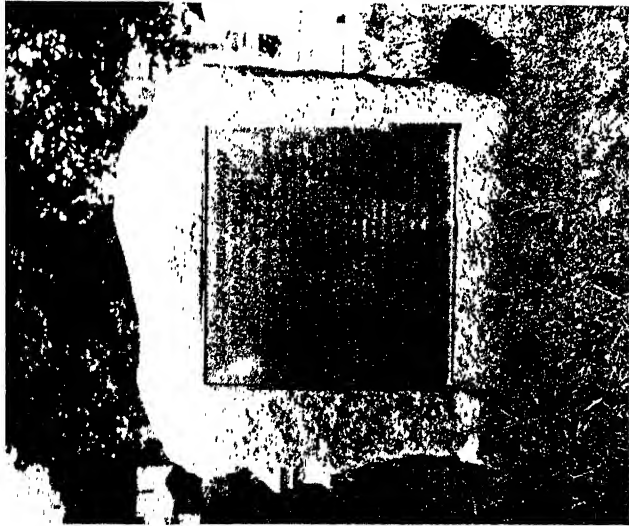
HOW THEY SAILED INTO THE UNKNOWN

As might have been expected, the *Mayflower* voyage over was far from a pleasant one. Sixty-five days at sea, with a good proportion of the company seasick most of the time, would try the stoutest hearts, even when a comfortable home and dear ones were known to be waiting on the other side. In this case, every one was sailing into the unknown. Moreover, Captain Jones, who was in charge of the ship, was an extremely unsympathetic person and his sailors appear to have been exceptionally coarse and brutal. One stout young seaman was in the habit of adding to the sufferings of the Pilgrims by abusive language; and, when gently reproved, would violently curse and blaspheme, expressing the hope that he might soon "throw the bodies of half the passengers into the sea." It was perhaps poetic justice, if not an act of God, that in a few days this man sickened and died, so that he himself had to be consigned to an ocean grave.

About halfway across, one of the main beams in the middle of the ship was found to be bowed

and cracked, so that it was feared it might be necessary to turn back again; but after a consultation between Captain Jones and his officers, it was decided that the voyage could continue, and the beam was raised by means of a great iron jack which some one among the passengers had fortuitously brought out of Holland. This great screw was one of many bulky things stowed away in the ship. Such things must have taken up a great deal of room and, though useful, are simply amazing when regarded as part of a pioneering cargo. In fact, as one notes the huge chests of drawers and the many pieces of heavy furniture now to be seen in Pilgrim Hall and other parts of Plymouth, all bearing on them labels to the effect that they came over in the *Mayflower*, one realizes that a ship the size of this one must indeed have been crowded, with so much furniture on board, — in addition to the one hundred and two passengers and the food necessary to sustain them.

We know very little, in detail, about the look or proportions of "the ship", as the *Mayflower* is consistently called by Bradford and Winslow in their writings. But we may infer something of the general type to which she belonged, and students of this matter have decided that she must have been about ninety feet long and twenty-four feet wide, with three masts, of which the fore and main mast were square-rigged without a jib, while the mizzenmast carried a lateen sail. A high forecastle and a high poop deck left the



GRAVESTONE ERECTED ON BURIAL HILL, PLYMOUTH, TO THOMAS CLARKE, MATE OF THE MAYFLOWER



MEMORIAL TABLET ERECTED BY BRADFORD'S DESCENDANTS ON THE GOVERNOR WILLIAM BRADFORD ESTATE, KINGSTON



Here ended the Pilgrimage of
JOHN HOWLAND
who died February 23, 1673,
aged above 80 years.
He married Elizabeth daughter of
JOHN TILLEY
who came with him in the
Mayflower Dec. 1620.
From them are descended
numerous posterity.

"Hee was a godly man and an ancient
professor in the wayes of Christ. hee was
one of the first converts into this land and
was the last man that was left of those
that came over in the Ship called the
Mayflower that lived in Plymouth."

Plymouth Records

STONE ERECTED ON BURIAL HILL PLYMOUTH, TO JOHN HOWLAND
"THE LAST MAN THAT WAS LEFT OF THOSE THAT CAME OVER IN THE
SHIP CALLED THE MAYFLOWER, THAT LIVED IN PLYMOUTH"

middle of the ship low. She was what is known as a "wet" ship, too, and being on this voyage heavily laden and therefore low in the water, shipped more seas than usual. Once the coil of the topsail halyards was washed over and trailed in the sea; soon afterwards, John Howland, "a lusty young man", coming up on deck, was likewise carried overboard. Howland was fortunate enough to catch a grip on the coil and to hang on to it until he was safely fished up with a boat hook. He had a short illness as a result, but survived to live many years in the Colony and to be the progenitor of a family which still looms large in Plymouth history because of a fine old house that bears their name and is to-day a favorite haunt of visitors. One passenger died during the voyage, — William Button, who appears to have been an apprentice to Doctor Fuller. But the passenger list remained at one hundred and two because Stephen and Elizabeth Hopkins became the parents of a son during the trip, who, by reason of his birthplace, was named "Oceanus." Appropriately Oceanus in later life followed the sea as a profession.

One is impressed with the youth of the "Pilgrim Fathers." Bradford was thirty-one, Winslow twenty-five, Allerton thirty-two, Standish thirty-six, and Alden only twenty-one. There is every reason to believe that only two of the whole company were over fifty years of age, and only nine over forty.

We know that there were no young cattle¹ on board because a great deal was made of the later arrival in Plymouth of these important adjuncts to civilized English life. Presumably there were poultry, swine, and goats penned up forward. Much of the space between decks was occupied by a shallop transported in pieces which, when put together, was about thirty feet long. The passengers slept aft in cabins and bunks of a sort, while the crew lived forward.

One great difficulty was that very little cooked food could be had. The only method of cooking was by means of a frying pan held over a charcoal fire or a kettle suspended on the iron tripod over a box of sand. Cooking under these conditions for one hundred and two passengers and a crew of twenty or more was obviously so difficult as to be almost impossible. There was also little opportunity for bathing or washing, which must have been a sore hardship to the Pilgrims, as they were rather ahead of their time in their regard for cleanliness. The staples of food were certainly bacon, hard tack, salt beef, smoked herring, cheese, and small beer or ale. For luxuries there were butter, vinegar, mustard, and probably lemons and prunes. Gin they also had, and possibly brandy. The food was given out in day rations with due regard to the fact that it must be care-

¹ Longfellow makes a great bull, so to speak, when he depicts Priscilla as mounted on a milk-white steer. No cattle were landed in Plymouth until many months after this marriage ceremony, which is supposed to have occurred in 1622.

fully conserved against the long time ahead when they might not be able to lay their hands on anything edible.

On November 9th, they saw land which the sailors at once identified as the shore of Cape Cod. Then they knew that instead of being close to the Virginia Colony, toward which they had thought to sail, they were really on the edge of New England, as Captain John Smith had named this country some six years before. It was Bartholomew Gosnold, however, who, while trying in 1602 to find a direct passage for New England and America, first came upon the promontory which, from the abundance of codfish in the surrounding seas, he called Cape Cod. His sailors were the first Englishmen to set foot in New England, and he himself went so far as to make preparations for founding a colony on the Elizabeth Isles. But when his ship was ready to leave, his little band of settlers lost their courage and returned with it, fearing starvation and Indian treachery. Other unsuccessful expeditions were also sent out to this part of America during the early years of the century, but little was done beside fishing. Then in 1614, financed by four London merchants, came Captain John Smith in charge of two ships and a company of men also bent on fishing. While they pursued this calling, Smith himself sailed up and down the coast making maps or "plots" of North Virginia and New England, which though not in any way authentic

or particularly trustworthy, served to convince *him* that he knew the country well. He also called the land New England, though one of his captains, Hunt, who appears to have been a thoroughly bad lot, tried to "drown that name with the eccho of Cannaday", out of jealousy of Smith. On his return to England after this trip, Smith showed his map to Prince Charles, begging him to confirm the name of New England and to christen the principal places discovered, so that it would be henceforth "an unmannerly presumption in any that doth alter them without leave."

After his second voyage in 1615 with sixteen men in the employ of Sir Ferdinand Gorges and other members of the Plymouth company, Smith became a most enthusiastic publicity bureau for the land between Penobscot and Cape Cod. "Of all the foure parts of the world that I have yet seene not inhabited," he wrote, "could I have but meanes to transport a Colonie, I would rather live here than anywhere; and if it did not maintaine itselfe were wee but once indifferently well fitted, let us starve."¹ Through its fisheries, Smith constantly declared, the country might become richer than Holland, cod, hake, mullet, sturgeon, and herring were to be had in such abundance. And he begged, "Let not the meanesse of the word Fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana and Tumbatu with lesse hazard and charge, and more

¹ Arber: "Captain John Smith."

certain tie and facilities." Smith, indeed, had offered his help to the Pilgrims before their departure, but they refused it, saying, according to his own statement, that his books and maps would be "better cheap to teach them than himself." To this false economy he was wont to attribute the misery of their first winter.

The fact is, of course, that the Pilgrims intended to settle in the vicinity of the Hudson River and had every reason also to expect that they would arrive in the new country much earlier than November. Many of the early writers believe that Captain Jones had been bribed by the Dutch merchants to sail far to the north of Manhattan, and Nathaniel Morton, writing in 1669, presumably from oral tradition at Plymouth, states explicitly that Dutch intrigue was responsible for making so north a port. At this distance of time one conjecture seems about as good as another as to the reason why they finally went ashore on Cape Cod and founded their settlement on what we now call Massachusetts Bay with utter disregard of the fact that by so doing they abandoned their patent. One outstanding fact to be noted in this connection is that neither Bradford nor Winslow express in their writings the slightest concern for the change in plans. Apparently they were quite content to take their chances, without any legal authorization from the Old World, on settling outside the territory controlled either by the Virginia Company or by the Dutch.

To be sure these wise leaders took vigorous action when a number of the company who had come on board at London informed them, with no uncertain intent, that the abandoning of the original patent would leave every man his own master once the ship had made land. It was at this juncture that their real genius asserted itself, for they were quite equal to the emergency. Believing that their first acts must carry official weight and that any want of union now would be fatal to the success of the enterprise on which they had all staked so much, it was decided to bind the company together by the following voluntary compact founded on the will of the people and signed by the forty-one adult males of the company.

In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyal subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland king, defender of ye faith, &c. Having undertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie. a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northern parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutuallly in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine ourselves togeather into a civil body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof

we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape-Codd ye II. of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveragine lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie fourth. An^o: Dom. 1620.

Of this compact John Quincy Adams wrote in 1802: "This is perhaps the only instance in human history of that positive, original social compact which speculative philosophers have imagined as the only legitimate source of government. Here was a unanimous, and personal assent by all the individuals of the community to the association, *by which they became a nation*. . . . The settlers of all the former European colonies had contented themselves with the powers conferred upon them by their respective charters, without looking beyond the seal of the royal parchment for the measure of their rights and the rule of their duties. The founders of Plymouth had been impelled by the peculiarities of their situation to examine the subject with deeper and more comprehensive research."

In coming to this country the Pilgrims most certainly contemplated not merely a safe retreat beyond the sea, where they could worship God as their conscience bade them, but a local government founded on popular choice. One need not, in saying this, claim that they had in mind, when they formulated the compact in the *Mayflower* on November 11, 1620, all the successive stages of colonial and provincial government which resulted

in the establishment of a great republican confederacy; but it is perfectly clear, from every document and manifesto that they put out, that it *was* their fixed purpose from the first to establish civil government on a basis of republican equality.

What we have to remember, as we read the Mayflower Compact and follow the story of the Pilgrims and their colonization, is that it was too late in the world's history to carry out anywhere in Europe any such scheme as they had in mind. Absolutely the only outlook for expansion was upon the Atlantic Coast of America, where the pretensions of Spain had now been successfully disputed and where a flourishing colony had at length been founded in Virginia after nearly half a century of disappointment and disaster. Further to colonize along the North American coast was now part of the avowed policy of the British Government.

The year 1606 had seen a great joint-stock company formed for the establishment of two colonies in America. This company had headquarters in London for the proposed southern branch of its enterprise, while the management of the northern branch was directed at Plymouth and Devonshire. (Hence the two branches are commonly spoken of as the London and the Plymouth companies, although the former was also called the Virginia Company at times, and the latter the North Virginia Company, the name Virginia being then loosely applied to the entire Atlantic coast north of Florida.) The London Company had jurisdic-

tion from 34° to 38° north latitude; the Plymouth Company had jurisdiction from 45° down to 41°. It was understood that the intervening territory (between 38° and 41°) was to go to whichever company should first plant a self-supporting colony.¹

The first act of the citizens of the new-made State was to "confirm" John Carver as Governor until their next New Year's Day, thus conferring on the deacon of the emigrating Church and the confidential friend of Robinson a continuance of the authority which had been given him when the *Mayflower* sailed from Southampton. And now, having a form of government adequate at any rate for the present and an executive who should enforce that government, the *Mayflower* came to anchor about a mile from the site of Provincetown. And on the same afternoon (November 11-21), sixteen men, well armed and headed by Captain Miles Standish, went on shore to explore and to fetch back wood to the ship. Climbing the hills, they ascertained the shape of that portion of the Cape and brought back the report that the land consisted of hills of sand, not unlike the dunes of the Holland so far behind them.

This similarity between the formation of Cape Cod and the country about Leyden not improbably evoked more than one homesick pang in the hearts

¹ General supervision over all these American colonies was to be exercised by a council resident in England, the understanding being that a council resident in America and *nominated by the King* should have immediate supervision over the local government of each enterprise.

of these men who, *one hundred and thirty-three days* (!) back, had bidden farewell to their friends in the harbor of Delftshaven. But their leader, Miles Standish, was not an introspective person or given to sentiment. The official word which he brought on his return from exploring the Cape was that the shore proved to be a small neck of land, partly wooded; that they could find neither person nor habitation on it, and that the forests were rich in oak, pine, juniper, birch, and holly, with some ash and walnut. The woods they had found to be like a grove or park, so free from underbrush that a person might ride a horse in any direction. They learned afterwards that this was due to the savages, who burned the country over every spring and fall to destroy the undergrowth which hindered their hunting. All were particularly delighted to find sassafras in abundance, for this, they knew, possessed a high market value by reason of its medicinal virtues.¹

Roland G. Usher, who has written a most valuable book called "The Pilgrims and Their History", in the course of which he has particularly stressed the economic aspects of their enterprise, points out that these God-intoxicated men from East Anglia and Holland were almost ludicrously unprepared to deal with life in the trading post of a new country. Apparently none of the passengers

¹ Sassafras root was bringing three shillings a pound in England; in 1604 Champlain had noted with delight that it was worth fifty livres a pound in France. Explorers always rejoiced in finding it and were glad to load ships for the Old World with it.

had ever fished, and, with the exception of Standish, most of them were equally innocent of the mechanism of a gun. In England they had been farmers, as we have seen, and in Holland they had followed whatever trade they could and mostly been not too successful in their vocations. In the course of the early weeks in the thickets of Cape Cod, they shot a bird which they took to be an "eagle", and were frequently frightened by "lions!"

Yet they expected to establish themselves by fishing and hunting and by bartering beads, toys, and cloth with the Indians of the district. If only their supplies held out they might successfully achieve this, too, in spite of their obvious limitations. They were equipped with a large stock of salt, some clothing, trinkets, and presents for the Indians; they had peas, beans, and seed for growing the onions, turnips, parsnips, and carrots, of which they were so fond; and they had, too, adequate culinary utensils and tools with which to do carpentry and blacksmithing. Captain Miles Standish had apparently looked with some care to the matter of military equipment, for guns, swords, side armour, breastplates, and the like were fairly well represented in the *Mayflower's* cargo, according to the labels on these relics in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.

More important than anything else, they had good constitutions, loyalty to each other, and devotion to a high religious ideal. Eager as they

must have been to get at the work of active exploration, they observed the Sabbath which followed their first day ashore inviolate. Not until Monday did work begin in earnest. Then, while the carpenter wrestled with the task of making their shallop safe for the big task which awaited it, the women sought and found fresh water in which to wash their clothes.

On Monday the thirteenth ¹ of November (O. S.) the people went ashore to refresh themselves "and our women to wash, as they had great need." Thus New England housewives began at once to observe the ritual of the week's work, to which New England tradition has ever since adhered.

One mid-Victorian chronicler of early Plymouth activities is so impressed by the memory of these Pilgrim mothers doing the family washing out in the open air on a bleak November day that he quotes with fervor :

There was no need
In those good times, of trim Callisthenics —
And there was less of gadding, and far more

¹ It should be borne in mind that the Old Colony Records and indeed all the contemporary books of the period were written at a time when the Julian method of computing time, commonly known as the Old Style, was in use in England and its dependencies ; and that therefore in New England, the legal year began on Conception Day, the 25th of March. The addition of ten days to the seventeenth-century dates will change the dating to New Style. Months in the Julian calendar differed also from those of the Gregorian, now in use. Thus we have :

1 March	5 July	9 November
2 April	6 August	10 December
3 May	7 September	11 January
4 June	8 October	12 February

Of home-born, heart-felt comfort rooted strong
In industry, and bearing such rare fruit
As wealth may never purchase.

If by this he means to say that hard work was the sole exercise and diversion of the Pilgrim Mothers, no one will be found to say him nay; but this was true of the Pilgrim Fathers, also. There was no sex discrimination in the Plymouth Colony as administered by William Bradford and his associates.

CHAPTER VII

HOW THEY SET UP A HOME IN THE NEW WORLD

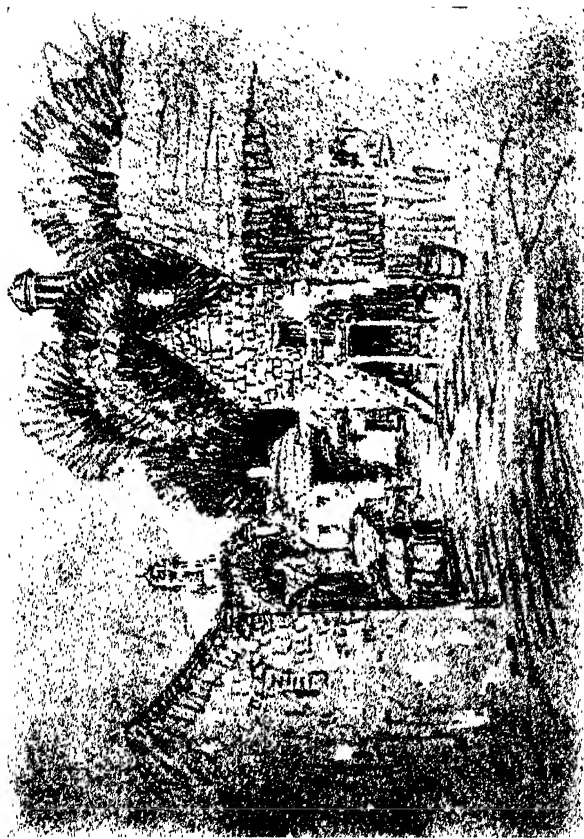
EVERY visitor to Plymouth journeys piously to Plymouth Rock, which is now protected by an iron fence and has a curious little pagoda built over it. It has been humorously said that if this Rock could have attracted the sea as it attracts sight-seers, Plymouth would have had a very respectable harbor and would necessarily have engaged in the kind of trade that goes with a harbor. But most of its shipping is of the steamboat variety. Every day in summer a crowded boat comes in from Boston, and a multitude of men, women, and children rush to the Rock, — before rushing to the restaurant for dinner. They walk about it and in awed tones declare that it was here that Mary Chilton landed. Then, if their sight-seeing spirit carries them so far, they travel in memory of Mary Chilton to a little village near by called Chiltonville, all out of respect to the maiden who is supposed to have first set foot on the shores of New England *via* this Rock.

Yet one finds no mention of Mary Chilton in



THE CANOPY OVER THE ROCK

From a sketch by Howard Leigh.



A PLYMOUTH VISTA
From a sketch by Howard Leigh.

the authentic early accounts of the "Landing"; and there have been those who impiously questioned the degree of authentic intimacy between this rock and the first days passed by the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Its elevation into an object of hero-worship dates from 1741, when Thomas Faunce, ninety-four years old, told some people who were about to cover the Rock with a wharf that his father had told him, when he was a boy, that the *Mayflower* passengers landed on this boulder.

To be sure Faunce's father was not a passenger on the *Mayflower*, and the memory of a man ninety-four years old might very well be doubted in regard to things said to him as a boy. Yet it is a fact that some of the passengers of the *Mayflower* were still living in Faunce's lifetime, and that some of these were in the shallop which came to the shore on Monday, December 11-21, 1620, from Clark's Island, where the Pilgrims spent their first Sabbath on the shores of the New World. Moreover, Faunce was born in 1647 and was ten years old when Governor Bradford died, twenty-six years old when John Howland died, thirty-six years old when Samuel Fuller died, and forty years old when John Alden and Elizabeth Tilley died. All these persons were passengers in the *Mayflower* and some were in the shallop when the first landing was made. Very likely there is reason for believing the story of the Rock if not that of Mary Chilton. Anyhow, a great many people have had their patriotic

emotions stirred by gazing upon this symbol of the landing of the *Mayflower*, and history is probably quite as right in this matter as in many another.

The contemporaneous story of the first days passed by the Pilgrims at Plymouth is as follows :

The nineteenth of December, after our landing and viewing of the places so well as we could, we came to a conclusion, by most voices, to set on the main land, on the first place, on a high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared, and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago ; and there is a very sweet brook runs under the hill side, and many delicate springs of good water as can be drunk, and where we may harbour our shallops, and boats exceeding well ; and in this brook is much good fish in their seasons ; on the further side of the river also much corn ground cleared. In one field is a great hill, on which we point to make a platform, and plant our ordinance ; which will command all round about. From thence we may see into the bay, and far into the sea ; and we may see from thence Cape Cod.

Saturday, the three and twentieth, so many of us as could went on shore, felled and carried timber, to provide themselves stuff for building. Monday, the five and twentieth, we went on shore, some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry : so no man rested all that day.

Monday, the five and twentieth, being Christmas day, we began to drink water aboard ; but at night the master caused us to have some beer ; and so on board we had divers times now and then some beer,

but on shore none at all. We took notice how many families they were, willing all single men, that had no wives, to join with some family, as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses; which was done, and we reduced them to nineteen families. To greater families we allotted larger plots; to every person half a pole in breadth, and three in length; and so lots were cast where every man should lie; which was done, and staked out. We thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for houses and gardens to impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill with colds; for our former discoveries in frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod, had brought much weakness amonnst us, which increased every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of our deaths.

Here, almost certainly from the pen of Edward Winslow, we have facts, not conjecture or romance, concerning the beginnings of New England history. The dates are, of course, Old Style, — as he wrote them. This account, as preserved in “Mourt’s Relation”, continues:

Friday and Saturday we fitted ourselves for our labour, but our people on shore were much troubled and discouraged with rain and wet that day, being very stormy and cold. We saw great smokes of fire made by the Indians, about six or seven miles from us, as we conjectured.

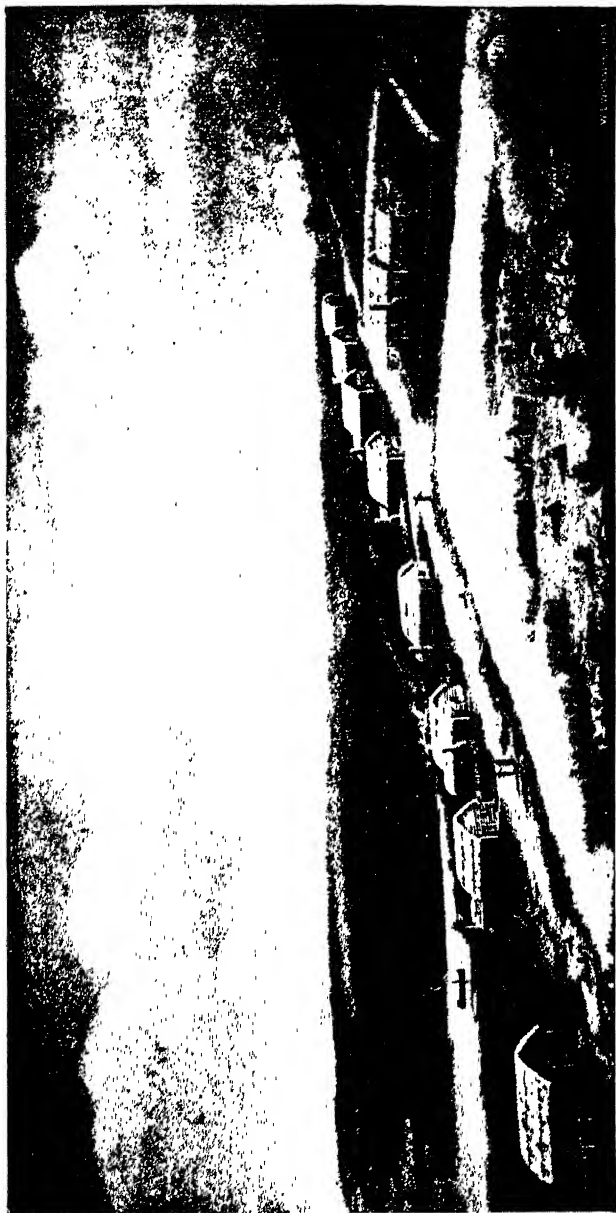
Thursday, the fourth of January, Captain Miles Standish, with four or five more, went to see if they could meet with any of the savages in that place where

the fires were made. They went to some of their houses, but not lately inhabited; yet could they not meet with any. As they came home, they shot at an agle and killed her, which was excellent meat; it was hardly to be discerned from mutton.

Tuesday, the ninth of January, was a reasonable fair day; and we went to labour that day in building of our town, in two rows of houses for more safety. We divided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build our town, after the proportion formerly allotted. We agreed that every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common. The common house, in which for the first we made our rendezvous, being near finished, wanted only covering, it being about twenty foot square. Some should make mortar, and some gather thatch; so that in four days half of it was thatched. Frost and foul weather hindred us much. This time of the year seldom could we work half the week. . . .

Yet work they did heartily and with a will when the weather made outdoor work possible, — and that first New England winter appears to have been an unusually mild one. Then a great misfortune, which might almost have turned out a disaster, befell.

The house [*i.e.* the “common house”] was fired occasionally by a spark that flew into the thatch, which instantly burnt it all up; but the roof stood and little hurt. The most loss was Master Carver’s and William Bradford’s, who then lay sick in bed, and if they had not risen with good speed, had been blown up with



LEYDEN STREET, PLYMOUTH, IN 1622

Copyright, 1891, A. S. Burbank.

The building in the left foreground was a storehouse, and then came the dwellings of the following named settlers, in order: P. Brown, J. Goodman, W. Brewster, J. Billington, I. Allerton, F. Cooke, E. Winslow. The house in the right middleground was that of Governor Bradford. The old fort is at the extreme right.



THE PILGRIM MEERSTEADS ALONG THE TOWN BROOK

After the landing the colony was divided into nineteen families or groups and a plot of land along the Town Brook was assigned to each. On these plots the first houses were built, the land in the rear sloping to the stream. The garden plots

powder; but through God's mercy, they had no harm. The house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their muskets charged; but blessed be God, there was no harm done.

Monday, the fifteenth day, it rained much all day, that they on shipboard could not go on shore, nor they on shore do any labour, but were all wet. Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, were very fair sunshiny days, as if it had been in April; and our people, so many as were in health, wrought cheerfully.

The nineteenth day we resolved to make a shed to put our common provision in, of which some were already set on shore. . . .

Saturday, the seventeenth day, in the morning, we called a meeting for establishing of military orders amongst ourselves; and we chose Miles Standish for our captain, and gave him authority to command in affairs. . . .

The things of which the Pilgrims found themselves most in need during those early days we learn also from Winslow: meat, of course; meal, a good store of clothes, bedding, muskets, lemons, butter, oil, "paper and lincd oyle for your windowes with cotton yarne for your Lamps and a store of powder and shot." Writing back to England in December, 1621, he reported¹ that already they had built seven dwelling houses and four for the use of the Plantation as well as made preparation for several others. "We set last Spring," he says at this time, "some twenty

¹ Also in "Mourt's Relation," the joint product of Winslow and Bradford, which was printed in London in 1622.

acres of Indian corn; and sowed some six acres of barley and peas; and according to the manner of the Indians, we manured our ground with herrings or rather shads [alewives], which we have in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doors [that is, in the Town Brook]. Our corn did prove well, and God be praised! we had a good increase of Indian corn; and our barley [was] indifferent[ly] good: but our pease not worth the gathering; for we feared they were too late sown. They came up very well, and blossomed: but the sun parched them in the blossom."

The first harvest did *so* well, indeed, that after it was gathered in, Governor Bradford sent four men out to kill wild fowl so that the fifty-one people who were in the Colony might enjoy the fruits of their labors together in a celebration that has now come down to us as the first New England Thanksgiving Day. This historic feast was graced by the presence of Massasoit and his entire tribe, and it lasted at least three days and included not only several hearty meals, but drilling, dancing, singing by the Indians, and some outdoor sports. Probably to us this would seem like an outdoor barbecue attended by the entire population rather than an individualistic Thanksgiving with every householder eating in his own home.

But after this there were no more feasts for some time. On November 20-30, 1621, there

arrived from England the *Fortune*, bearing thirty-five new colonists who were utterly without tools, clothes, or food! For the succeeding two years there was never a moment when the wolf was not at the door in Plymouth as a result of this. In the summer of 1623, when a second band of newcomers landed from the *Anne*, they found their friends "in a very low condition." "Many were ragged in apara! and some litle beter then halfe naked . . . for food they were all alike save some that had got a few peas of the ship that was last hear. The best dish they could present their freinds with was a lobster or a peece of fish without bread or anything els but a cupp of fair spring water," Bradford tells us. And Winslow adds that he had often seen men stagger at noon from weakness induced by hunger.

Yet this was the time when John Pory chose to write back a most fulsome description of life in the Colony. John Pory was Secretary for Virginia, and he visited Plymouth late in 1622 (O. S.) on his way back to England. According to him there was no reason why the Pilgrims should have suffered for want of food. His letter, dwelling on the milk and honey — otherwise the fish and fowl — with which the place abounded was, indeed, such as to make Plymouth stock take a great leap upward in England. Bradford says in this connection :

"Behold now another providence of God, a ship comes into this harbor, one Captain Jon(e)s

being cheefe therein, . . . ther was in this ship a gentle-man by name Mr. John Poory, he had been SECRETARIE in Virginia, and was now going home passenger in this ship . . . and him selfe after his retorne did this poore plantation much credite, amongst those of no mean rank."

Verily, yes! Pory seems to have been a born publicity man. By playing up the virtues of the Colony and suppressing the disadvantages and discomforts of life in Plymouth, he unquestionably heightened the desire of many Englishmen to emigrate thither while at the same time comforting and reassuring¹ those great ones at home who had sunk their good money in what they had come to fear was a losing venture.

For the next five years the bread-and-butter problem was the all-absorbing problem at Plymouth. One reason was that when the Pilgrims had pledged themselves to work four days in the week for the merchants who financed their undertaking, it had been in the expectation that the latter would bear the real burden of supporting the Colony during its early years. But when they failed to receive adequate support from

¹ Scarcely anything is known of the history of this priceless manuscript of John Pory's, save that it was acquired, a few years ago, by the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. Its little unbound quarto of thirty-two pages (three of them blank) was, a year ago, edited and prepared for the press by Champlin Burrage, formerly Librarian of Manchester College, Oxford, for a limited edition issued by the Houghton Mifflin Company of Boston, under the title "John Pory's Lost Description of Plymouth Colony in the earliest days of the Pilgrim Fathers."

England, and ship after ship arrived bringing with it instead more mouths to feed, want, not to say starvation, soon stared them in the face. If they could have been satisfied by a diet of cod and lobsters and clams, they might have suffered less, but for a long time they resolutely refused, in a way colonizing Englishmen to this day continue to refuse, to eat anything but the food to which they had been accustomed. Moreover, they were persuaded that the drinking of water would be followed by terrible diseases. Those who returned from the settlement to England made a great point of the fact that the water was "not wholesome", to which Bradford replied: "If they mean not so wholesome as a good beere and wine in London (which they so dearly loved), we will not dispute with them; but els for water, its as good as any in the world (for ought we knowe), and it is wholesome enough to us that can be contente therewith."

The big difficulty still remained: that of making profit for the Adventurers and at the same time earning enough to supply the colonists' own needs. So, since it was now clear that they could spend six days a week in the employ of the merchants only at the grave risk of starvation — inasmuch as no regular supplies of food were to be looked for from England — it was determined to abandon the work in common and to begin an entirely new system.

As much land was thereupon allotted to each

man and his family as he could profitably use. From this he was to retain the entire proceeds, but on the other hand he was to be entirely responsible for his own support. From the spring of 1623 an immediate improvement in economic conditions was noted. Everybody who had worked hard before worked harder now, and those who had not worked at all before began to do their share. It is interesting in a day when the idea of communism is making a strong appeal to many people in America that an experiment in communism should have been tried three hundred years ago in this country and abandoned as impracticable.

One of the most graphic descriptions¹ that we have from the pen of an outsider of early life in Plymouth has been supplied by Isaak de Rasières, secretary of the governing body of the Dutch settlement at Manhattan, who, in the autumn of 1627, made a visit to Plymouth and wrote back to Director Samuel Blommaert of his company in Holland so full a description of Plymouth-as-he-saw-it that it seems worth while to reproduce it here practically in its entirety. He records :

Coming out of the River Nassau, you sail east by north about fourteen miles along the coast, a half a mile from the shore; and you then come to Frenchman's Point,² at a small river where those

¹ The original was found in the Royal Library at the Hague. A translation is printed in the New York Historical Collections, vol. II, new series.

² Agawam Point, near the head of Buzzard's Bay.

of Patuxet [the Indian name for New Plymouth] have a house of hewn oak planks called Aptuxet,¹ where they keep two men, winter and summer, in order to maintain the trade and possession, where also they have built a shallop in order to go and look after the trade in sewan [wampum] in Sloup's Bay² and thereabouts, because they are afraid to pass Cape Malabar, and in order to avoid the length of the way, — which I have prevented for this year by selling them fifty fathoms of sewan, because the seeking after sewan by them is prejudicial to us, inasmuch as they would by so doing discover the trade in furs; which, if they were to find out, it would be a great trouble for us to maintain, for they already dare to threaten that if we will not leave off dealing with that people, they shall be obliged to use other means. If they do that now, while they are yet ignorant how the case stands, what will they do when they get a notion of it?

From Aptuxet the English can come in six hours, through the woods, passing severall little rivulets of fresh water to New Plymouth, the principal place in the country Pawtuxet, so called in their "octroye"³ from His Majesty in England. New Plymouth lies in a large bay to the north of Cape Cod, or Mallabaer, east and west from the said point of the Cape, which can be easily seen in clear weather. Directly before the begun town lies a sand bank⁴ about twenty paces broad, whereon the sea breaks violently, with an easterly and northeasterly wind. On the north side

¹ Manomet, now corrupted to Monument.

² East entrance to Narragansett Bay.

³ Octroi (Latin *auctoritas*, authority) originally meant any ordinance authorized by a sovereign.

⁴ Plymouth Beach.

there lies a small island,¹ where one must run close along in order to come before the town; then the ships run behind that bank² and lie in a very good roadstead. The bay is very full of fish of cod; so that the Governor before named has told me that when the people have a desire for fish, they send out two or three persons in a sloop, whom they remunerate for their trouble, and who bring them in three or four hours time, as much fish as the whole community require for a whole day; and they muster about fifty families.

At the south side of the town there flows down a small river³ of fresh water, very rapid, but shallow, which takes its rise from several lakes in the land above, and there empties into the sea; where in April and the beginning of May there come so many herring from the sea that want to ascend that river that it is quite surprising. This river the English have shut in with planks, and in the middle with a little door, which slides up and down, and at the sides with trellis-work through which the water has its course, but which they can also close with slides. At the mouth they have constructed it with planks, like an eel-pot with wings, where in the middle is also a sliding door, and with trellis work at the sides, so that between the two there is a square pool into which the fish aforesaid come swimming in such shoals in order to get up above, where they deposit their spawn, that at one tide there are ten thousand to twelve thousand fish in it, which they shut off in the rear at the ebb, and close up the trellises above, so that no more water comes in; then the water runs out through the lower trellises, and

¹ Saquish.

² The beach.

³ Town Brook.

they draw out the fish with baskets, each according to the land he cultivates, and carry them to it, depositing in each hill three or four fishes; and in these they plant their maize, which grows as luxuriantly therein as though it were the best manure in the world; and if they do not lay this fish therein, the maize will not grow, such is the nature of the soil.

New Plymouth lies on the slope of a hill, stretching east toward the sea-coast, with a broad street about a cannon-shot of eight hundred feet long ¹ leading down the hill, with a crossing ² in the middle, northward to the rivulet and southward to the land.³ The houses are constructed of hewn planks, with gardens also enclosed behind and at the sides with hewn planks, so that their houses and courtyards are arranged in very good order, with a stockade against a sudden attack; and at the ends of the streets there are three wooden gates. In the centre, on the cross street, stands the Governor's house, before which is a square enclosure upon which four patereros [steenstucken] ⁴ are moyned, so as to flank along the streets.

Their farms are not so good as ours, because they are more stony ⁵ and consequently not so suitable for the plough. They apportion their land according as each has means to contribute to the Eighteen Thousand Guilders which they have promised to those who had sent them out; whereby they had their freedom without rendering an account to any one; only if the King should choose to send a Governor General, they would be obliged to acknowledge him as sovereign chief.

¹ This distance is 1155 feet.

² *I.e.*, "a street crossing."

³ The actual bearings are just the reverse.

⁴ Little cannon.

⁵ He probably meant gravelly.

The maize seed which they do not require for their own use is delivered over to the Governor at three guilders the bushel, who in his turn sends it in sloops to the north¹ for the trade in skins among the savages; they reckon one bushel of maize against one pound of beaver's skin; in the first place, a division is made according to what each has contributed, and they are credited for the amount in the account of what each has to contribute yearly toward the deduction of his obligation. Then with the remainder they purchase what next they require, and which the Governor takes care to provide each year. They have better means of living than ourselves, because they have the fish so abundant before their doors. There are also many birds, such as geese, herons, and cranes, and other small-legged birds which are in great abundance there in the winter.

The tribes in their neighborhood . . . are better conducted than ours, because the English give them the example of better ordinances and a better life; and who — also, to a certain degree, give them laws by means of the respect they from the very first have established amongst them.

One great service which De Rasières did for the Colonists, a service which strengthened their already-established friendly relations with the Indians, was that he taught them the use of wampum (or sewan), as money. The impression has gone out that these wampum beads were mere gewgaws of no more value than so many pebbles picked up on the shore, but this is not

¹ The Kennebec region.

true. They had no intrinsic value like gold and silver and copper and iron; but each bead on the string represented a certain amount of labor, and this labor gave it worth. Wampum indeed became a real currency. Made for the most part of the shells of the round clam, which had to be as definitely manufactured as our silver or gold coins of to-day have to be, it is interesting to find the process of making it thus described:

“The shell was broken into small pieces which clipped to a somewhat regular form were then drilled, ground to a rounded shape and finally polished.” The Dutch had already learned how to make very beautiful wampum, and the Pilgrims bought fifty pounds worth of it from De Rasières. (Three of the purple beads which were twice the value of the white ones were equivalent to a penny.)

Having a medium of exchange with which to traffic with the natives was a great advantage in the business dealings of the settlers. With their new currency, their fresh reorganization, their definite knowledge of just what they had to do, and with the fund of valuable experience which they had accumulated during the seven years already spent in the wilderness, they were now able to face life with a good heart; and they never again were quite so near starvation as in the first black years which Pory, for publicity purposes, viewed through rose-colored glasses. By 1646, in spite of enormous handicaps and

difficulties, they had paid all their obligations to their English backers!

Their main source of income now was no longer fur trading with the Indians, but the exportation of lumber and cattle raising. In the *Charity*, which landed in Plymouth in March, 1624, there arrived a bull and three heifers, which Bradford records as "the first beginning of any cattle of that kind in the land." These newcomers to the settlement were placed under the care of a keeper within the palisade and soon grew to be "as fatt as need be." The following year four black heifers were added to the herd. These animals loomed so large in early Plymouth history that three of them are embalmed in Bradford's pages as Raghorn, the Smooth-horned Heifer, and the Blind Heifer. Nothing is more interesting in the subsequent history of the Colony, indeed, than the way in which poultry, cattle, and "the cattle division" recur as important factors in the life of the day. For soon there were lambs, and swine and goats as well as a fairly plentiful number of chickens. On January 30, 1628 (N. S.), Edward Winslow sold his family's six-thirteen-interest-in-the-red-cow to Captain Standish for five pounds, ten shillings in corn. The same day Pierce sold his share and Clarke's to Standish for two ewe lambs, thus giving us the first intimation that there were any sheep in Plymouth.

The Colony was now prospering steadily, and

it continued to prosper. Naturally census figures of these early days are not to be obtained. But when, in 1643, the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven formed a Confederation called "the unity of Colonies of New England" for the purpose of coöperation in Indian affairs and in matters of war", we know from the number of soldiers who were apportioned according to population that there were twenty-three thousand five hundred white people in the four colonies altogether, some twenty-three hundred of whom had been born in England. At this time New England had twelve thousand neat cattle, three thousand sheep, a thousand acres of orchards and gardens, and fifteen thousand acres under general tillage. Things were definitely looking up at Plymouth, and the Pilgrims never saw really hard times again from economic causes.

The thing of greatest value in early Plymouth was of course land. Actual ownership in this was impossible at first because the title was vested in the Adventurers until 1629, and then until 1640 in Bradford. It finally reached the whole body of freemen as a corporation, — though not as individuals, — in 1640. Previous to this year the vast majority of people did not own land, but possessed instead temporary rights of occupancy, which had been assigned to them by the Governor and assistants and then, as the towns were organized, by the town authorities.

It would almost go without saying that the allotment of land speedily became the most important event of the Pilgrim year. It had far-reaching value, too, as a means of making Plymouth unattractive to those whom the Pilgrims desired not to have among them.

The leaders controlled this land and distributed it as seemed to them best. To the group of from eight to fifteen among them whom they regarded as most worthy to be thus rewarded, they allotted the best house lots, the best meadows for hay, and the most desirable fishing rights. To a second group which contained the remainder of the church members, other good and on the whole desirable grants were made. Potential church members, godly and discreet persons, called Inhabitants, who could be trusted to pursue agriculture as a calling under such restrictions as the leaders deemed necessary, were also given land. Below all these, however, were a fourth group — the unprivileged — those who were not considered as possible church members, or citizens, who received no land, had no right to cut hay on the Town Meadows, and were obliged to work as directed. These included all temporary residents of the Colony, called Sojourners, people on probation pending a decision by the leaders as to their desirability for Colony residence, and the bond servants, servants, apprentices, minor children, and slaves.¹

¹ The allusion here is to a few Indians, mostly captives taken in war,

The Inhabitants who were permitted to till the soil might graduate into the Freeman class; or one of the utterly unprivileged might become an Inhabitant at the discretion of the leaders. This was where the matter of the land allotment came in. A worthy man would be given an allotment promptly, but those regarded as undesirable were passed over when the allotment was made and so automatically were made to understand that they were *non grata* at Plymouth.

In that none of the modern methods of accumulating great wealth were at this period established at Plymouth — nothing approaching “industry” in the twentieth-century sense of the word — no one acquired much wealth. Wills of the period make this very plain. But the Pilgrims did succeed in paying off their indebtedness and in accumulating besides what would have ranked in England at the time as a comfortable estate for the farmer or artisan class. Miles Standish, for instance, who had landed without property in 1620, as a paid employee of the merchants, and in 1631 migrated to Duxbury with very little in his possession except one cow, died in 1656 worth one hundred and forty pounds in land and buildings and £358 7 shillings in personal property. His will sheds not a little light on the life of the period, and is also of considerable historic interest. It reads as follows :

The last will and testament of Capt. Miles Standish Gent. exhibited before the Court held at Plymouth,

the 4th of May, 1657, on the oath of Capt. James Cudworth and ordered to bee registered as followeth :

Given under my hand this March the 7th, 1655, Witnesseth these Presents that I Myles Standish Senr. of Duxburrow being in pfect memory yet deceased in my body, and knowing the fraile estate of man in his best estate I do make this to be my last will and testament in manner and form following :

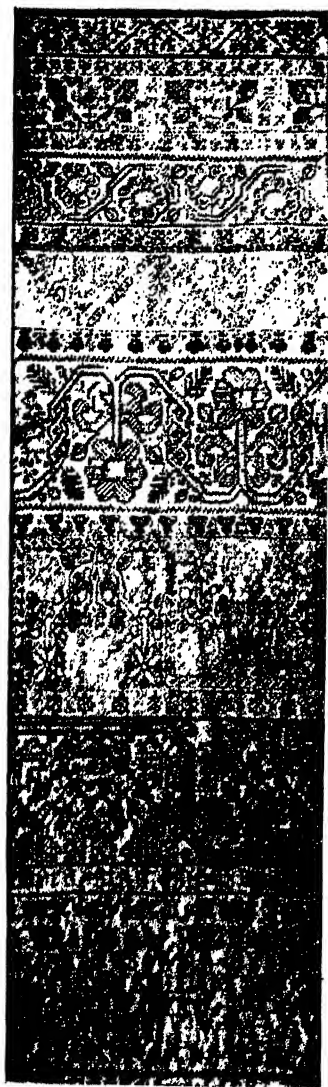
1. My Will is that out of my whole estate my funerall charges to beetaken out & my body to bee-buried in decent manner and if I die at Duxburrow my body to be laid as near as conveniently may bee to my two dear Daughters Lora Standish my daughter and Mary Standish my daughter in law.

2. My will is that out of the remaining pte of my whole estate that all my just and lawful debts which I now owe or at the day of my death may owe bee paied.

3. Out of what remains according to the order of this Gov'ment: my will is that my dear and loveing wife Barbara Standish shall have the third pte.

4. I have given to my son Josias Standish upon his marriage one young horse five sheep and two heffors which I must upon that contract of marriage make forty pounds yett not knowing whether the estate will bear it at present; my will is that the resedue remaine in the whole stocke and that every one of my four sons viz Allexander Standish Myles Standish Josias Standish and Charles Standish may have forty pounds apeece if not that they may have proportionable to ye remaining pte bee it more or less.

5. My will is that my eldest son Allexander shall have a double share in land.



SAMPLER NOW IN PILGRIM HALL, PLYMOUTH, WROUGHT BY MILES
STANDISH'S DAUGHTER

It reads: "Lorea Standish is my name.
Lord, guide my hart that I may doe thy will,
Also fill my hands with such convenient skill,
As may conduce to virtue void of shame;
And I will give the glory to thy name."



MILES STANDISH'S GRAVE, DUNBURY

6. My will is that soelong as they live single that the whole be in ptenership betwixt them.

7. I doe ordaine and make my dearly beloved wife Barbara Standish Allexander Standish Myles Standish and Josias Standish joint Executors of this my last will & testament.

8. I doe by this my will make and appoint my loving friends Mr. Timothy Hatherley and Capt. James Cudworth supervissors of this my last will and that they will be pleased to doe the office of christian love to be healpful to my poor wife and children by their christian counsell and advise and if any difference should arise which I hope will not, my will is that my said supervissors shall determine the same, and that they see that my poor wife shall have as comfortable maintenance as my poor state will beare the whole time of her life which if you my loveing friends please to doe though neither they nor I shall be able to recompenc, I doe not doubt but the Lord will;

By me Miles Standish further my will is that Marcy Robinson whom I tenderly love for her grandfather's sacke shall have three pound\$ in something to goe forward for her two years after my decease which my will is my overseers shall see performed.

Further my will is that my servant John Irish Junr have forty shillings more than his covenant which will appear upon the Towne Book alwaies provided that he continew till the time he covenanted be expired in the service of my executors or of any of them with their joint concert.

By me
Myles Standish.

March 7 1655.

9. I give unto my son and heire apparent Alexander Standish all my lands as heire apparrent by lawful decent in Ormstick Borsconge Wrightington Maudsley Newburrow Crawston and in the Isle of Man and given to mee as right heire by lawful decent but surreptitiously detained from me my Great Grandfather being a 2cond or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish.

By mee

March 7 1655.

Myles Standish.

Witnessed by mee —

James Cudworth.¹

The Will of Doctor Samuel Fuller, the Colony physician, a much longer document,² is likewise interesting as showing how a professional man was able, even under the untoward conditions of colonization on a bleak New England shore, to make himself economically comfortable.³

WYNSLOW GOVNR.

New Plymouth

1633.

A true Coppy of the last will & Testm of Samuell fuller the elder as it was proved in publick Court the 28th of Oct in the ninth yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of Engl. Scotl. ffr, & Irel. Defender of the ffaith &c.

¹ Plymouth Colony Records, Book of Wills. Vol. 2, pp. 37, 38.

² Reprinted by permission from the *Mayflower Descendant*. Vol. I.

³ On the other hand Stephen Hopkins, who owned the chief inn or hotel of the place, and was always getting into trouble because he broke the laws of the Colony, left in cash when he died — sixpence.

I Samuell fuller thelder being sicke & weake but by the mercie of God in perfect memory ordaine this my last will & Testmt. And first of all I bequeath my soule to God & my body to the earth untill the resureccon Item I doe bequeath the educacon of my children to my Brother Will Wright & his wife, onely that my daughter Mercy be & remaine wth goodwife Wallen so long as she will keepe her at a reasonable charge. But if it shall please God to recover my wife out of her weake estate of sicknes then my children to be with her or disposed by her. Also whereas there is a childe comitted to my charge called Sarah Converse, my wife dying as afore I desire my Brother Wright may have the bringing up of her. And if he refuse then I commend her to my loving neighbour & brother in Christ Thomas Prence desiring that whosoever of them receive her pforme the duty of a step ffather unto her & bring her up in the ffear of God as their owne wch was a charge laid upon me pr her sick ffather when he freely bestowed her upon me & wch I require of them. Item whereas Eliz. Cowles was committed to my educacon by her ffather & Mother still living at Charles Towne, my will is that she be conveniently apprelled & returne to her father or mother or either of them. And for George ffoster being placed with me upon the same termes by his prents still living at Sagos my will is that he be restored to his Mother likewise. Item I give unto Samuell my son my howse & lands at the Smeltriver to him & his heires for ever, Item *[worn]* will is that my howse & garden at towne be sold & all my moveables there & at the Smeltriver (except my Cattle) together wth the prnt Croppe of Corne there standing by my Overseers hereafter to

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be menconed, except such as they shall thinke meet in the prnt educacon of my two children Samuell & Mercy my debts being first pd out of them, the over-plus to be disposed of towards the encrease of my stock of Cattle for their good at the discretion of my overseers. Item I give two Acres of land that fell unto me by lott on the Sowth side the Towne adjoyning to the Acres of mr Isaack Allerton to Samuell my son. Also two other Acres of land wch were given me by Edward Bircher scituate & being at Strawberry hill if mr Roger Williams refuse to accept of them as formerly he hath done. Also one othr Acre bt mr Heeks his Acres neer the Reed pond, All wch I give to the said Samuell & his heires for ever. It. my will is that my Cozen Samuell goe freely away wth his Stock of Cattle & Swine wthout any further recconing wch swine are the halfe of six sowes Six Hogges one boare & fowr shotes Also one Cow & one heyfer. Item my will is that not onely the other halfe afore menconed but allso all other mine owne propr stock of Swine be sold wth other my moveables for the use before expressed my best hogg wch I would have killed this winter for the prnt comfort of my children. It. whereas I have disposed of my children to my Brother Will Wright and Priscilla his wife my will is that in case my wife die he enter upon my house & land at the Smelt River, & also my cattle not disposed on together with my two servts Thomas Symons & Robt Cowles for the remainder of their several termes to be employed for the good of my children he being allowed for their charg vizt. my children what my Overseers shall thinke meet. But if in case my said Brother Will Wright or Priscilla his wife die then my

said children Samuell & Mercy together wth the said joynt charge committed to the said Will & Priscilla be void except my Overseers or the survivors of them shall think meet. To whos [*worn*] godly care in such case I leave them to be disposed of elsewhere as the Law shall direct them. By cattle not disposed on to be employed for the good of my children I meane three Cowes & two steere calves Six old ewes & two ewe lambs two old wethers & three wether lambs together with such overplus upon the sale of my goods before expressed as my Overseers shall add heereunto. It. I give out of this stock of Cattle the first Cow calfe that my Browne Cow shall have to the Church of God at Plymouth to be employed by the Deacon or Deacons of the said Church for the good of the said Church at the oversight of the Ruling Elders. Item I give to my sister Alice Bradford twelve shillings to buy her a paire of gloves. Item whatsoever is due unto me from Capt. Standish I give unto his Children. It. that a pr of gloves of 5sh be bestowed on mr John Wynthrop Govr of the Massachusetts. It. I give unto my Brother Wright aforesaid one cloath suit not yet fully finished lying in my trunk at Towne wch I give notwithstanding my wife survive. It. whereas Capt John Endecott oweth me two pownds of Beaver I give it to his sonne. It is my will that when my children come to age of discretion that my Overseers make a full valuacon of that Stock of Cattle & the increase thereof, & that it be equally divided between my children. And if any die in the meantime the whole to go to the survivor or survivors. It. my will is that they be ruled by my Overseers in marriage. Also I would have them enjoy that smale

porcon the Lord shall give them when my Overseers thinke them to be of fit discretion & not at any set time or appointmt of yeares. It. whereas my will is that my Overseers shall let out that stock of Cattle wch shall be bought wth the Overplus of my goods to halves to such as shall be as well carefull as honest men. My will is that my brother Wright have the refusall of them. It. I give unto John Jenny & John Wynslow each of them a paire of gloves of five shillings. It. I give unto Mrs Heecks the full sum of twenty shillings. It. I give to old mr William Brewster my best hat & band wch I h[worn] never wore. Item my will is that if my children die that then my stock be thus distributed. ffirst that what care or paines or charge hath been by any about my children be fully recompensed. Next at the discretion of the Overseers I thus bequeath the rest viz so as it may be redowned to the Governing Elder or Elders of this Church at Plymouth aforesaid & towards the helping of such psons as are members of the same & are [*illegible*] as my Overseers shall thinke meet. It. I give to Rebecca Prence 2sh 5d to buy her a paire of gloves. It. my will is that in case my sonne Samuell & other my children die before such time as they are fitt to enter upon my land for inheritance that then my kinsman Sam. fuller now in the howse wth me enjoy wtsoever lands I am now possessed of except my dwelling howse at town or whatsoever shall be due to me or them. It. I give to him my Rufflet Cloake & my stuffe sute I now weare It. I institute my son Samuell my Executor, and because he is young & tender I enjoyne him to be wholly ordered by Edw Wynslow mr Wil Bradford & mr Tho. Prence whom I make his

Overseers & the Overseers of this my last will & Testmt. so often menconed before in the same. And for their paines I give to each of them twenty shillings apeece. It. I give to Mercy my daughter one Bible wth a black Cover wth Bezaes notes. It. I give all the rest of my bookes to my sonne Samuell wch I desire my Brother Wright Will safely preserve for him. It my will is that when my daughter Mercy is fitt to goe to scole that mrs Heecks may teach her as well as my sonne. It. whatsoever mr Roger Williams is indebted to me upon my booke for phisick I freely give him. Last of all whereas my wife is sicke and weake I have disposed of my children to others my will is that if she recover that she have the educacon of them & that the other gifts & legacies I have given may be pformed. And if in case any of my Overseers or all of them (3) die before my children be judged by them of age of discretion then my desire is they will before such time when they dispose of their owne affaires depute some other of the Church to pforme this duty of care & love towards my children, wch I allow and binde my children to obedience to them as before. In witnes that this is my last will & Test I have set to my hand & seale the 30th of July Anno 1633.

Samuell ffuller

Memorand that whereas the widow Ring committed the Oversight of her sonne Andrew to me at her death, my will is that mr Tho Prence one of my Overseers take the charge of him & see that he be brought up

in the ffeare of the Lord & See that he sustaine no wrong by any.

Witness heerunto

Robt Heeks

John Wynslow

See his Inventory, Fol. 22. (*This line is in a different hand.*)

A note of such debts as Sam ffuller acknowledged upon his death bed, at the making of the foresaid will.

I owe to the Acco Company in the Massachusets six or ten shillings if ffr Johnson have not pd it.

It. I owe mr John Winthrop one hogsh of Corne for lines I bought of him but doubt whether pd or not. If he demand it, pay it.

It. I owe him for a Sow of leade except X sh wch I have pd as appeareth pr receipt.

It. whereas Henry Wood demands an old debt due at Leyden I desire that wtsoever he demand as due debt be pd by my overseers he dealing faithfully.

It. whereas I have an herball belonging to Joh. Chew of Plymouth in old Engl. I desire when the price is known he may be pd.

The allusion in this will of Doctor Fuller's to gloves for his sister, for Rebecca Prence, and for certain public functionaries, indicates that in some particulars at any rate funerals at Plymouth were getting to be impressive occasions. In the Bay Colony mourning rings as well as gloves, for the mourners and pallbearers, played an important part. I find no reference in early Plym-

outh wills to such use of rings. Nor do I find anything which leads me to believe that it was the custom here to present the person in charge of the funeral with a fine scarf of white linen which he afterwards made into a shirt and wore as a memorial to the deceased. In other words, Plymouth had by no means come to the point where it "enjoyed its funerals" as the Bay Colony early came to do, — and as Sir Walter Scott says his father always did.

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CHAPTER VIII

HOW THEY MET AND OVERCAME THE INDIANS

SOME one has suggested that if the American of the twentieth century is able in no other way to keep clear in his mind the distinction between the Pilgrims and the Puritans, he can do so by recalling the old joke that when the Puritans came over they fell on their knees, — while the Pilgrims fell on the aborigines. This is not a very good joke, and it is exceedingly misleading as history. For as a matter of fact the Pilgrims were at all times scrupulously honest and kindly in their relations with the Indians. They could strike hard when they had to; and that they occasionally had to we shall clearly see. But Robert Cushman, who (in 1622) printed one of the early documents¹ concerning the Pilgrim republic, testified categorically concerning the justice and benevolence with which the Colony at the beginning treated the natives.

Governor Josiah Winslow, in 1676, declared in his report to the Federal Commissioners: "I think I can clearly say that before these present

¹ "Reasons and Considerations touching the Lawfulness of Removing out of England into the Parts of America."

troubles broke out [King Philip's War], the English did not possess one foot of land in this Colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors. Nay, because some of our people are of a covetous disposition and the Indians are in their straits easily prevailed with to part with their lands, we first made a law that none should purchase or receive of gift any land of the Indians without the knowledge and allowance of our Court . . . and if any time they have brought complaints before us, they have had justice impartial and speedy, so that our own people have frequently complained that we erred on the other hand by showing them over much favor."

The practice of the settlers was indeed to follow literally the instructions given by the first Governor of the New England Company to Governor Endicott in 1629: "If any of the Salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavor to purchase their title, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion. Particularly publish that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives."

It is curious, as one reads ¹ the accounts of the shore expeditions made by the Pilgrims during their very first days in New England, to see how long it was before they actually encountered any Indians at all. In their first exploring trip when they went ashore at Provincetown (Wednesday, November 15-25), and wearing their cumbrous

¹ Chiefly in "Mourt's Relation."

armor, tramped up and down in search of the best possible place to make a settlement, the only Indians whom they saw were five men accompanied by a dog, who at sight of them took themselves off promptly into the woods. For about ten miles the Pilgrims trailed these savages; and when night fell and found them far from the place at which they had come ashore, they were obliged to camp without having yet overtaken them. Next morning they followed the track of the Indians around the head of a long creek but still discovered neither the savages nor their houses. What they did discover, however, was a wonderful spring. And here in Truro they first partook of New England's fresh water. "We . . . sat us down and drunk our first New England water with as much delight as ever we drunk drink in all our lives." Then they marched south to the shore, built a fire as a signal of safety to the ship, and continued their journey. Bucks and partridges, wild geese and ducks they came upon in this first exploration, — but no Indians.

Ten days later, a second exploring party was organized — still with the Indians in mind — consisting this time of thirty-four men, ten of whom were sailors. Part of the group was to go along the shore in the shallop, part to be taken to the land by the long boat and to travel on foot. But a terrible storm sprang up, the shallop could not keep the water and had to harbor almost at once for the night, and though the land party went

on some six or seven miles, the weather was so bleak that many "tooke the originall of their death here . . . it blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze with all." The next day broke fine and all went aboard the shallop and sailed to Pamet River, a creek they had formerly noted. There the men landed, marching along the river for four or five miles till night overtook them. There was great excitement when, on the third day, this party found decided traces of Indians not far from their camp in a canoe, a bottle of oil, and several heaps of corn and beans. They came also on a grave in which were the skeletons of a man and a child embalmed in a fine red powder and surrounded by bowls and trays and dishes and trinkets. Other evidences of previous inhabitants were found in the form of two houses built of young sapling trees bent, and with both ends stuck into the ground. These were covered almost entirely with thick mats with a wide hole at the top left for a chimney. Inside were finer and newer mats and cooking utensils, including earthen pots, an English pail or bucket and baskets of every kind. But again the Pilgrims were forced to return to the *Mayflower* without having met any Indians. In their absence on shore an event of great importance had happened on the ship. A son had been born¹ to

¹ This interesting occurrence, the birth of the first English child to draw breath in New England, had Provincetown for its background, of course. For the Pilgrims were still anchored near that point, not having yet decided where they should make a permanent settlement.

Mr. and Mrs. White, to whom was given the appropriate name of Peregrine.

An advantageous harbor was thought to lie near Manomet which was discernible on the western horizon, and it was now decided that a new expedition should follow the shore and see what there offered in the way of a safe and promising settlement. So with this objective a third exploring expedition set out.

Now it was that the Pilgrims had their first encounter with the Indians. They had coasted along for six or seven leagues without yet coming to either river or creek when they saw a sandy stretch of land jutting out and decided to sail for it. They were tremendously excited to discover on this shore, busy over some black object, ten or twelve Indians, — who ran away as the boat approached! Landing for the night, the Pilgrims barricaded themselves and prepared for whatever might befall. Towards midnight they were roused by horrible noises which they took to be howls of wolves, but as soon as day broke, the outcries became so clear that there was no mistaking them.

Soon the Indians were upon them with their arrows! (Note that the savages conducted the offensive.) The Englishmen were unprepared when the attack actually came. Most of them had carried their armor and guns down to the water's edge and were making ready for sailing. Only Standish, Bradford, and a couple more were

able to defend the encampment. But this they did effectively, and in a few minutes the Indians were driven off. Yet not until after the chief had stood well forward under a tree and deliberately shot at the Pilgrim leaders with his arrows. And not until the Pilgrims had, quite as deliberately, aimed at the chief and after three misses hit the tree above his head. "Whereupon," we read, "he gave a great 'shrike' and made off as fast as he could." No one was injured; but the First Encounter, as the Pilgrims named this brush with the savages, was now a fact of history. Later they discovered that the attacking party belonged to the Nauset Tribe, from which Thomas Hunt had kidnapped his slaves,¹ and that it was this wicked treatment which explained the hostility the Indians displayed to the new band of white men.

All day, after this thrilling interlude of warfare with "the aborigines", the Pilgrim explorers sailed along the coast without discovering either a harbor or a creek. In the afternoon snow and rain and high waves rocked their little boat most dangerously. They broke a rudder, put on so much sail that they split their mast in three pieces and were all but wrecked on the rocks. Finally, they came under the lee of a small island

¹ Hunt was master of one of the ships in Captain John Smith's 1614 voyage of exploration. An unprincipled scoundrel, he tried first to rob Smith of his plans and leave him on a desert island to starve; then he kidnapped a party of Indians and took them to Spain, where he sold them into slavery.

(Clark's Island) and there, utterly exhausted with fatigue, spent that night and the two succeeding days, one of which was Sunday.

We shall come back to their subsequent activities as they sounded Plymouth Harbor, landed on Plymouth Rock, and set up civilized life in the New World. But our present concern is with their further dealing with the Indians. What of that?

One day, about the middle of March, there came walking down the principal street of the Plymouth settlement a solitary Indian who advanced boldly and called out in English to them, "Welcome!" Their visitor was entirely naked except for a leathern girdle, and he carried only a bow and two arrows. He walked straight up to the common house, quite as if he were a regular visitor, and started to enter. When they stopped him, he explained in broken English that he did not belong in that region but was a sachem of Monhegan, the island off the Maine coast between the Kennebec and Penobscot rivers, and that he had learned his English from Englishmen there engaged in fishing. He proved that he was telling the truth by giving the names of most of the captains who fished on the Maine coast. He added that he had come to Cape Cod with Captain Dermer, the year before, and had remained eight months on a visit. He could reach home by sea in one day with a good breeze, he said, but it took him five days to go by land. He proceeded to describe

the native tribes far and near, their sachems and their strength, and he told them that his own name was Samoset.

A sharp wind arising, the Pilgrims offered their guest the protection of a horseman's coat which he accepted with gratitude. Then he asked for beer and they took him to dinner, serving him with butter and cheese, something which they called pudding — could it have been a species of the famous Yorkshire pudding? — and duck. None of this surprised him at all; he was apparently quite used to English fare and liked it. After dinner he proceeded to tell them a great deal about the Indians of the district, particularly about the tribe of their own neighborhood, which had died in a plague four years ago. The Indian name of the region thereabouts was Patexet, it appears, a name meaning "little bay" or "little falls." The Indians living nearest to this place now were Massasoit's tribe, numbering about sixty warriors.

So Samoset talked on and, night coming down ere he had shown any inclination to leave, his hosts began to wonder how they should most safely entertain him. At first they thought to lodge him aboard the *Mayflower*, but when they found they could not get the shallop across the flats to the big ship, still anchored in the bay, they quartered him with Stephen Hopkins, watching him the while with care. The next day (Saturday) they sent him happily off with a knife,

a bracelet, and a ring, he declaring that he would return in a little while with beaver, — a kind of fur then unknown to the English.

Two weeks later, on Sunday as luck would have it, Samoset called again, accompanied this time by five tall savages. Again the Pilgrims proffered liberal entertainment which the Indians sought to repay by an exhibition of dancing and singing, thus embarrassing not a little their Sabbath-observing hosts. Samoset's comrades were far better apparelled than he had been on his first visit. Each had a deerskin hung on his shoulders and wore long hose of dressed deerskin. Their hair was cut short in front, but fell as far as the shoulders behind. One had his front hair done up on a feather in a fan shape; another wore a fox-tail pendant. The chief had on his left arm a wildcat's skin, which seemed to be the Indian leader's badge of authority, much as the modern white man is distinguished by an epaulet. The chief of the party on this occasion carried a pouch of tobacco, from which he occasionally smoked, or gave some for smoking to the others. The English called this "drinking" tobacco by reason of the deep inhalations by which the smoke was drawn into the lungs.

Samoset's third visit fell on a fine spring day. The Pilgrims were assembled to transact business important to the Colony, when again they were interrupted by this attentive caller. He had in his wake one who was destined to become an

invaluable friend of the Colony. This was Tisquantum, as Winslow calls him; Squanto, according to Bradford's writings. Squanto was the only surviving native of Patuxet. He had been carried to England by Captain Thomas Hunt in 1614 and so had escaped the plague. In England he had found a home for three years with Gorges and afterwards with John Slaney, of London, merchant and treasurer of the Newfoundland Company. Then he was sent back to Newfoundland, from which place Captain Dermer took him again to England, bringing him back with him on the famous voyage of 1619 and 1620, when the two touched Plymouth. On this occasion Dermer and Tisquantum had traveled inland as far as Middleborough and had a friendly interview with Massasoit and his brother, but had found these people so hostile, by reason of Hunt's wickedness, that they would have slain the captain but for Squanto's intervention. The two Indians brought the startling news, on this spring morning of 1621, that Massasoit, the sachem of the tribes of Pokanoket, was now on his way with his warriors to pay a ceremonial visit! Naturally this intelligence created a great stir in the settlement. We can imagine there was some bustling to and fro as the Pilgrims prepared for their first formal meeting with the natives.

In about an hour Massasoit, followed by a train of sixty men, appeared on Watson's Hill. Some hesitation ensued on both sides, because, while

the colonists were not willing that their governor should venture among the savages, the savages were no more desirous of letting their chief visit an armed village. Finally the dilemma was solved by Squanto's bringing from the Grand Sachem a request that a messenger come over and confer with him. Edward Winslow was chosen for this important mission and, armed with a pair of knives and a chain with a jewel on it, to present to Massasoit, and with a knife and a jewel to hang in his ear for the chief's brother, Quadequina, he made his way up the hill. He carried also some provisions. With great impressiveness he greeted Massasoit in the name of King James and desired him to come and speak with the Governor, which, after some hesitation and the placing of hostages on both sides, the chief consented to do. Winslow was left behind, as Massasoit, accompanied by twenty warriors without their bows and arrows, started for the village. To meet them Captain Standish and Master Allerton, with six musketeers, repaired to the passage over Town Brook. When the chief crossed the brook the Pilgrim guard saluted him gravely. The two leaders took their places one on each side of him and conducted him with great ceremony to the street where, in a house not yet quite finished, a "green rugge" and three or four cushions had been placed to receive him. Having partaken of a hearty meal, Massasoit concluded the following Treaty:



THE TOWN BROOK, PLYMOUTH

Over this brook Edward Winslow passed as a hostage to the Indians when the first Peace with King Massasoit was being negotiated.



A PICTURESQUE CORNER OF OLD PLYMOUTH
From a sketch by Howard Leigh.

1. That neither he, nor any of us, should do hurt to any of our people.

2. And if any of his did hurt to any of ours; he should send the offender (to us) that we might punish him.

3. That if any of our tools were taken away, when our people were at work, he should cause them to be restored; and if any of ours did any harm to any of his, we should do the like to them.

4. If any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him. If any did war against us, he should aid us.

5. He should send his neighbor confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us; but might be likewise comprised in the Conditions of Peace.

6. That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces when we came to them.

7. Lastly, that doing this, King James would esteem of him as his friend and ally.

This treaty, made in all sincerity by both parties, is one of the most picturesque incidents in early American history. The king, sitting upon his cushions with a chain of white bone beads about his neck, a bag of tobacco hanging down behind, and a knife suspended from a string resting on his bosom, must have been a great sight. His head and face were oiled so that "hee looked greasily" and the chronicler tells us that as a result of the strong drink served to him, Massasoit "sweat all the while after." His followers had their faces painted black, red, yellow, or white;

some wore skins and some were entirely naked. The representatives of the Pilgrims, on the other hand, with Governor John Carver at their head, though firm and resolute of soul were rather pitifully haggard and emaciated of body as a result of their hard experiences of the winter. It would not have been hard for the Indians to gain the upper hand just at this time.

When the business of the conference was over, the Governor escorted Massasoit back to the brook, where they embraced and took a courteous farewell. The Pilgrims had taken the precaution to retain seven of the Indians as hostages for Winslow's safe return and now, when Quadequina, the king's brother, came across the rivulet with his bodyguard, Winslow still remained behind as security. A fine-looking, tall young man, who bore himself modestly, Quadequina accepted the hospitality of the place with much appreciation, though he was obviously greatly frightened by the muskets, which, at his request, were laid away. When he departed, two of his men wished to remain for the night, but it was thought best not to allow this. Winslow was then released, as were also the native hostages.

Samoset and Tisquantum spent the night with their white friends who kept a sharp lookout, we may be sure, inasmuch as Massasoit's men with their families were encamped in the woods only half a mile away. This was a wise precaution to take, though the Indians were undoubtedly thoroughly

friendly. Plans had already been made, indeed, for them to come in a few days to plant corn south of the brook by Watson's Hill and spend the summer near their new allies. The next day Standish and Allerton visited the king at his camp and were entertained with a few groundnuts and some tobacco. Then Massasoit and his company went their way.

Voltaire, commenting on William Penn's treaty with the Indians, says: "It was the only one ever concluded between savages and Christians that was not ratified with an oath, and the only one that was never broken!" Yet here in Plymouth a treaty was made, long before Penn was born, which was ratified by no oath; nor was it broken during the lifetime of any of the contracting parties.

Massasoit ruled for some forty years after this event, outliving Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Brewster, Standish, and Allerton. And he had been many years in his grave before the compact was violated by his younger son.

Not only did the Indians keep to the letter of this treaty, but they showed themselves consistently friendly. When the spring came, Squanto helped the Pilgrims set corn and instructed them how to manure the ground with fish, taught them how to tread out eels with their hands and feet, and so make the best of the fish which came in abundance up the Town Brook; proved himself, indeed, an invaluable associate for many years.

Samoset disappears at this point from Plymouth

history. Carver was reëlected governor just at this time, and his first Indian visitor presumably returned to his own tribe near what is now Pemaquid Point, Bristol, Maine. We may believe that he often visited his white friends but that they found no occasion to make formal mention of the fact. With Massasoit, to whom he had introduced them, Winslow in particular had subsequent relations of quite embarrassing intimacy.

Winslow's introduction to home life among the Indians came when, as a means of continuing the pleasant relations established with Massasoit by the League of Peace and Friendship, he and Stephen Hopkins, accompanied by Squanto, were sent to make a visit to the chief. As gifts, they carried a "Horse-man's coat of red cotton, laced with a slight lace"; and from the Governor they bore "a copper chayne, desiring if any Messenger should come from him to us, we might know him by bringing it with him and harken and give credite to his Message accordingly. Also requesting him that such as have skins should bring them to us and that he would hinder the multitude from oppressing us." Not with skins but with their presence; too many Indians had latterly been coming to Plymouth for visits. Winslow writes :

With these presents and message, we set forward the 10th June (1621) about 9 a clocke in the Morning, our guide resolving that night to rest at Namaschet (near Middleborough) a Town under Massasoit and conceived by us to bee very neere because the inhabit-

ants flocked so thicke upon every slight occasion amongst us: but wee found it to bee some fifteene English myles. On the way we found some ten or twelve men and women and children, which had pestered us till wee were wearie of them, perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victuall is easiliest to be got, there they live, especially in the Summer: by reason whereof our Bay affording many Lobsters they resought every spring tide thither: & now returned with us to Namaschet.

Thither we came about 3 aclocke after noone the Inhabitants entertaining us with joy in the best manner they could giving us a kinde of bread called by them maizium [rudely made from Indian corn] and the spaune of Shads which then they got in abundance, insomuch as they gave us spoones to eat them, with these they boyled musty acorns but of the Shads we eate heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shoote at a Crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their corne by them, who shooting some four score off and killing they much admired it.

Pushing on and lodging in the open fields, Winslow and his companion made their way through the woods of "Oake Walnutt-tree, Firre, Beech and exceeding great Chesstnut-trees" — to Massasoit's own town — only to find that the chief was not at home. But he was speedily sent for, the visitors' guns shot off, at request, as a means of salutation, and

Then he tooke us into his house and set us down by him, where having delivered our foresayd Message and Presents and having put the Coat on his backe

and the Chayne about his necke he was not a little proud to behold himselfe and his men also to see their king so bravely attyred.

For answer to our message he told us we were welcome and he would gladly continue tht Peace and Friendship which was between him & us: and for his men they should no more pester us as they had done. Also that he . . . would help us with corne for feed according to our request.

Following which Massasoit made a redundant speech full of self-commendation which "being ended he lighted tobacco for us and fell to discoursing of England & of the King's majestie, marveiling that he would live without a wife.¹ Also he talked of the French-men, bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narrohiganset, for it was King *James*, his Countrey and he also was King *James* his man. Late it grew but victuals he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came so newly home. So we desired to go to rest: he layd us on the bed with himselfe and his wife, they at one end and we at the other, it being onely plancks layd a foot from the ground and a thin Mat upon them. Two more of his chieftemen for want of roome pressed by and upon us; so that we were worse weary of our lodging then of our journey."

The next day there were sports and shooting but still nothing to eat until about one o'clock, when Massasoit brought in two fishes which he

¹ James I of England had become a widower more than a year before.

had *shot* and which, when boiled, were served to the *forty* people in the group. Winslow comments :

This meal only we had in two nights and a day, and had not one of us bought [meaning, probably, brought] a partridge we had taken our journey fasting : Very importunate he was to have us stay with them longer : But wee desired to keepe the Sabbath at home : And feared we should either be light-headed for want of sleepe, for what with bad lodging, the Savages' barbarous singing (for they used to sing themselves asleepe) lice and flees within doores and Muskeetoos without, wee could hardly sleepe all the time of our being there ; we much fearing that if wee should stay any longer we should not be able to recover home for want of strength. So that on a Fryday morning before sun-rising we took our leave and departed, Massasoit being both grieved and ashamed that he could no better entertain us.

This experience of Indian hospitality was typical. Massasoit and his followers came really to love the Pilgrims, and though there was plotting on the part of minor chiefs, there was nothing really unpleasant nor so important that the Pilgrims needed to take cognizance of it until 1623. And of this the Plymouth men were warned in time, — thanks to another visit made by Winslow to the friendly chief. This in response to the news that Massasoit was probably dead !

Hoping still to be in time to be of service to the old Indian, Winslow again set out for Middleborough and by traveling rapidly was able soon

to reach the sick man's bedside. There he found the powahs in the midst of their incantations,¹ making, as he says, "such a hellish noise as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick." Meanwhile six or eight women chafed the chief's arms, legs and thighs "to keep heat in him." He had not slept, it developed, for two days and had become entirely blind.

When the "charming" ceased, Massasoit was told who had come to see him. Upon this he feebly groped with his hand, which Winslow took. The chief then twice said faintly, "*Keen Winsnow?*"² or "Art thou Winslow?" Winslow replied "*Ahhe!*" or "Yes!" The patient then feebly muttered, "*Matta neen wonckanet namen, Winsnow!*" which was to say, "I shall never see thee again, O Winslow!" Winslow then delivered, through Hobomok, a message of sympathy from Bradford and explained that he had brought from the Governor "such things as he thought most likely to do him good in this extremity." Then producing "a confection of many

¹ "The priest comes close to the sick person and performs many strange actions about him, and threatens and conjures out the sickness. The poor people commonly die under their hands; for alas, they administer nothing, but howl and roar and holle over them and begin the song to the rest of the people, who all join like a choir in prayer to their gods for them."—Roger Williams.

² The Indians had much trouble with the European "r" sound, and commonly made an indistinct and unhappy nasal in place of it. Williams says: "Some pronounce not 'l' nor 'r,' yet it is the most proper dialect of other places."

comfortable conserves", Winslow placed some of it upon the point of his knife, and with great trouble succeeded in getting it between the sick man's teeth. When the confection had been dissolved in the patient's mouth, it was readily swallowed. This greatly astonished and delighted the spectators, for nothing had been before swallowed for two days.

Winslow then contrived to clean Massasoit's mouth, "which was exceedingly furred," and scrape his swollen tongue, removing an abundance of foul matter. Next the patient, desiring drink, some of the confection was dissolved in water and given him. Within half an hour he had visibly improved and soon began to see again. Winslow continued his nursing all night. He also sent Indians to Plymouth with a note describing the case and asking Doctor Fuller's advice, as well as that some delicacies be returned, especially a pair of chickens for broth.

Before morning, the king's appetite beginning to return, he asked for broth or pottage like that he had eaten at Plymouth. Winslow was unfamiliar with such cookery, and had neither meat, rice, vegetables nor seasoning. In that early month there were no herbs to be found. But setting his wits at work, he took the coarse part of some pounded corn and set it on the fire in an earthen pot; ¹ he then added a handful of straw-

¹ The pots they seethe their food in are made of clay or earth, almost in the form of an egg, the top taken off. — Gookin.

berry leaves and the sliced roots of a sassafras bush.¹ When the compound had been well cooked, he strained the liquid through his handkerchief and gave a pint of it to his patient. The broth was highly relished and seemed to work wonders; the vital organs resumed their duties, the patient's sight became perfect, and a period of restful sleep soon followed. The worst of Massasoit's bad attack of indigestion and auto-intoxication was over.

When the chief awoke next morning he persuaded Winslow to go to the different wigwams and treat several of his "good folk" who were sick. This labor, though very offensive to Winslow's senses — he being "unaccustomed with such poisonous savours" as pervaded the Indian's homes — was none the less performed with cheerfulness and Christian kindness. Ultimately it proved very valuable to the people at Plymouth.

In the afternoon, Massasoit desiring some wild fowl, Winslow succeeded in shooting a very fat duck, at a range of three hundred and sixty feet. When this had been made into broth, Winslow insisted on skimming off the fat, fearing its effect on a weak stomach; but his willful patient would not take the broth in this form and in consequence, when he had eaten very heartily of the dish, was again sick. In his straining he brought on the

¹ Winslow tells all this story, embellishing it with full details in his *Good News From New England* to be found in what is known as "Mourt's Relation."

dreaded nosebleed, which could not be checked for four hours. The case for some time was desperate. But after a while the chief had a sleep nearly eight hours long, and when he awoke, Winslow proceeded to bathe his face and beard. Then the patient thrust his nose into the basin of water, and drawing up a large quantity, ejected it so violently that his nosebleed returned once more! At this sight the Indians gave up their renewed hopes and utterly despaired; but Winslow, seeing that the bleeding was superficial, soon stopped it. The loss of blood had been a benefit. The king now needed only care as to diet, and more sleep. By the second morning he was comparatively well, and was able to sit up and converse.

The supplies from Plymouth arrived about twenty-four hours after the departure of the runners, but the medicines were no longer needed, and the chickens Massasoit wisely decided to keep for breeding. Visitors continued to come from all the tribes round about, and to them a *pinese* constantly repeated the details of the wonderful cure which his English friends had wrought upon their good ruler.

The day before Winslow's coming, a visiting sachem had assured Massasoit that the English were no friends to him and especially insisted that they had neglected him in his sickness. After his recovery the chief could not too warmly or too constantly express his gratitude, exclaiming among other things: "Now I see the English

are my friends and love me; and while I live I will never forget this kindness they have showed me."

Massasoit almost immediately had an opportunity to demonstrate his gratitude. As the messengers were on the point of returning to Plymouth, the chief confided to Hobomok that a plot was even then on foot which would have been fatal to the Colony and which he [Hobomok] was to reveal to Winslow on his way home.

Thomas Weston, who, back in Leyden, had shown a desire to have a hand in the Pilgrims' venture, in June, 1622, equipped and dispatched to New England two ships, the *Charity* and the *Swan*, which brought as passengers some fifty or sixty men, all bent on making speedy profits. They landed at Plymouth and were there entertained until they could make a settlement. After badly abusing the hospitality offered them, they had chosen (1622) Wessagusset (Weymouth) for their plantation. Here they had lived improvidently, treated the Indians badly, and in all respects undermined the friendliness which had been established by the Plymouth men with the natives who had signed the Indian Compact. Once they seriously contemplated making a raid on the Indians' stores, but had delayed taking this extreme step because Governor Bradford in Town Meeting had advised against it.

Meanwhile, however, things had gone from bad to worse at Wessagusset, and Weston's men,

because reduced to a half-naked as well as half-starved condition, seemed to the Indians of Neponset an easy mark for extermination. The secret confided to Hobomok by Massasoit, and which he was to reveal to Winslow, was to the effect that these Neponset Indians had now resolved on a general massacre, both of the settlers of Wessagusset and those of Plymouth. Against the latter they had no cause of complaint, but because they realized that they would resent with all possible expedition the ruthless murder of their fellow countrymen, it had been decided that the safest thing would be to put them out of the way also. With this intent the Neponset Indians had entered into a league with the seven tribes south and west of Plymouth and had endeavored to urge Massasoit even in his sickness to join them. It was in this way he had become aware of the existence of the plot. The chief's advice was that the Plymouth settlers should strike the first blow by seizing and executing the main conspirators among the Neponsets.

Here was a situation indeed! As it was now the time for holding the Court or annual Town Meeting for the election of officers, Bradford laid the matter before the whole body of the people in their chief assembly, directly Winslow brought the news of the conspiracy. The ensuing debate was anxious. The colonists were unwilling to shed the blood of those whose good they sought, but from the very decided words of Massasoit,

no alternative seemed left to them. It was, therefore, agreed that Standish, taking with him a sufficient force, should start as if on a trading expedition, warn the settlers at Wessagusset of their imminent danger, and then strike home at the chief conspirators among the Indians.

On arriving at Weston's colony Standish found to his dismay that the *Swan* was in the harbor without a soul on board, that the settlers were scattered in different directions, and that, enjoying their fancied security, the colonists were still allowing the Indians to come in and out of their dwellings as they pleased. His first step was to order all the men home and bid them stay there on pain of death. The following day being stormy, nothing could be done, but it did not take an Indian spy, who came among them under pretense of selling furs, long to sense the course affairs were taking, and he went back to report that the plot had been discovered.

Daily, now, signs of insult and defiance occurred. But still the Captain made no move until one day he came upon Wituwamet and Pecksuot, two of the chief aggressors, together in a room. Then having men also on his side, Standish gave the word. A desperate hand-to-hand encounter followed: Wituwamet, Pecksuot, and another were killed, and the whole conspiracy nipped in the bud. When the matter came to further issue in the open, the next day, Standish triumphed by reason of having secured the strate-

gic advantage of a rising hill, for which both sides were striving. The encounter was altogether to Plymouth's advantage. But Standish was careful not to allow the least discourtesy toward the native women and children, and the affair tended to promote rather than decrease the esteem of the natives for the men of Plymouth. The best of the whole matter was that Weston's men decided that they had enough of colonization in Massachusetts and, putting all their movable property on board the *Swan*, sailed off to join the fishing vessels at Monhegan Island.

It is unpleasant to be obliged to add that Standish bore the head of Wituwamet back with him to Plymouth. When Robinson at Leyden heard of this, he wrote to the Governor, lamenting that the blood of any Indian should have been shed before one had been converted. But if killing in self-defense is ever justifiable, Standish was justified on this occasion. One of the Boston Bay Indians, who always was friendly to the English, testified that the Neponsets had only been biding their time before an attack that would have destroyed all the white men thereabouts. Subsequent events, too, proved that the severity of Standish had done its work. The tribes who had joined with the conspirators, seeing their punishment, were filled with fear, and for many years peace reigned between the Indians and the colonists in and around Plymouth.

The treaty with Massasoit was renewed in 1639

and again in 1662. While this chief lived it was never broken. His successor, Philip, broke it in 1675, when other influences came into play; but for fifty years it was observed to the letter.

In 1637, to be sure, a real "Indian War" took place in another and more western New England State, the aggressors being the Pequots, one of the fiercest and most numerous tribes in the country, and one which had long shown a hostile spirit towards the English. This followed a succession of murders which had aroused the anger and provoked the retaliation of the peaceably disposed settlers. The Pequots sought to league together the Narragansetts, the Mohegans and other powerful nations against the European colonists and by a predatory and murderous system of warfare to drive them into the sea. Through the intrepid interference of Roger Williams, the alliance was prevented. The Pequots were, therefore, left single-handed to carry out their project. They numbered at least seven hundred warriors, whereas the colonists of Connecticut could with difficulty muster two hundred fighting men. Still, repeated acts of bloodshed and aggression could no longer be borne with impunity, and an expedition was planned. Immediate war was decreed. A whole night was passed in earnest prayer in which the departing patriots took part. The little army consisted of eighty men under the command of one John Mason, who received the benediction of the venerable pastor before he started.

It is characteristic of the age that, when once these men of peace made up their minds to wage war, when once they felt that "the Lord", the God of Battles, was with them, they went to their task with a stern resolve to smite their enemies hip and thigh. No temporizing work was this they entered on; no "patched-up peace" were they prepared to make. But even then they rested over the Sabbath. Nor life nor death was suffered to disturb the sanctity of that day. The Narragansetts, responding to Roger Williams' pleas, finally retired from any active share in the undertaking, but the Pequots, elated with hopes of certain triumph, sang their blood-curdling war songs in the very ears of their invaders. They were ensconced in a fortified place, from whence their bows and arrows, never yet drawn vainly, were to mow down the ranks of the rash aggressors. Two hours before dawn the attack was made. We can well imagine how these men who had braved the mysterious sea and borne unheard-of sacrifices for liberty's sake would buckle up their energies to this deadly combat. They knew that if they failed now, savage vengeance would await their helpless families. And of course they did not fail. Bradford says the horrible suggestion of burning camps was due to the natives. We hope so, for there were women and children here as well as warriors. In any case a firebrand was thrown, the English formed a chain around the place, and in a few minutes the whole settlement

was ablaze. Thus embarrassed and beset, the Indians were shot down easily ; none were spared. In an hour six hundred of them had perished, and only two Englishmen had fallen. When morning dawned three hundred more warriors came confidently up from the other fort. Aghast at the scene of carnage which met their astonished eyes, they tore their hair and beat the ground ; they, too, were swept down. Before many days were over, not a man, woman or child of that tribe was left behind ! The Pequots as a nation existed no more.

Yet after all, the Indians were not always fighting their white neighbors. It is interesting therefore to read about their everyday habits and customs, as recorded at this period of Plymouth's history, by Thomas Lechford, an English lawyer who, after four years in the New World, wrote back in 1641 the following informing, if rather uninspired, pages concerning native life as he had observed it.

They are of body tall, proper and straight ; they goe naked, saving about their middle, somewhat to cover shame. Seldom they are abroad in extremity of winter, but keep in their wigwams, till necessity drives them forth ; and then they wrap themselves in skins, or some of our English coorse cloth : and for the Winter they have boots, or a kind of laced tawed-in leather stockins. They are naturally proud, and idle, given much to singing, dancing and playes ; they are governed by *Sachems*, *Kings* ; and *Saggamores*, petie Lords ; by an absolute tyrannie. Their women are of comely

feature, industrious, and doe most of the labour in planting, and carrying of burdens; their husbands hold them in great slavery, yet never knowing other, it is the lesse grievous to them. They say, *Englishmen* much foole, for spoiling good working creatures, meaning women: and when they see any of our *English* women sewing with their needles, or working coifes or such things, they will cry out, *Lazie squaes!* but they are much the kinder to their wives by the example of the *English*. Their children they will not part with, upon any terms, to be taught. They are of complexion swarthy and tawny; their children are born white, but they bedawbe them with oylẽ and colors, presently. They have all black hair, that I saw.

In times of mourning, they paint their faces with black lead, black, all about the eye-brows, and part of their cheeks. In time of rejoycing, they paint red, with a kind of vermilion. They cut their haire of divers formes, according to their Nation or people, so that you may know a people by their cut; and ever they have a long lock on one side of their heads, and weare feathers of Peacocks, and such like, and red cloath or ribbands at their locks; beads of *wampompeag* about their necks, and a girdle of the same, wrought with blew and white *wampom*, after the manner of chequer work, two fingers broad, about their loynes: Some of their chiefe men goe so, and pendants of *wampom*, and such toyes in their ears. And their women, some of the chiefe, have faire bracelets, and chaines of *wampom*. Men and women, of them, come confidently among the *English*. Since the Pequid War, they are kept in very good subjection, and held to strict points of Justice, so that the *English* may travail safely among

them. But the French in the East and the Dutch in the South, sell them guns, powder and shot. They have Powahes or Priests, which are Witches, and a kind of Chirurgions, but some of them notwithstanding are faine to be beholding to the *English* Chirurgions. They will have their times of *powaheing*, which they will, of late, have called Prayers, according to the *English* word. The Powahe labours himselfe in his incantations, to extreme sweating and wearinesse, even to extacie. The Powahes cannot work their witchcraft if any of the English be by; neither can any of their incantations lay hold on, or doe any harm to the *English*, as I have been credibly informed. The Powahe is next the King or *Sachem*, and commonly when he dyes, the Powahe marryes the *Squa Sachem*, that is, the queene.

They have marriages among them; they have many wives; they say, they commit much filthinesse among themselves. But for every marriage, the *Saggamore* hath a fadome of *wampom*, which is about seven or eight shillings value. Some of them will diligently attend to any thing they can understand by any of our Religion, and are very willing to teach their language to any *English*. They live much the better and peaceably for the *English*; and themselves know it, or at least their *Sachems*, and *Saggamores* know so much, for before they did nothing but spoile and destroy one another. They live in *wigwams*, or houses made of mats like little hutts, the fire in the midst of the house. They cut down a tree with axes and hatchets, bought of the *English*, *Dutch* and *French*, & bring in the butt-end into the *wigwam*, upon the hearth, and so burne it by degrees. They live upon parched corne, (of late

they grind at our *English* mills). Venison, Bevers, Otters, Oysters, Clammes, Lobsters, and other fish, Ground-Nuts, Akornes, they boyle all together in a kettle.

Their riches are their *wampom*, bolles, trayes, kettles, and spoones, bever, furies, and canoos. He is a *Sachem*, whose wife hath her cleane spoons in a chest for some chief *English* men, when they come on guest wise to the *wigwam*. They lye upon a mat, with a stone, or a piece of wood under their heads; they will give the best entertainment they can make to any *English* comming amongst them.

They will not taste sweet things, nor alter their habit willingly; onely are they taken with tobacco, wine, and strong waters; and I have seene some of them in *English* or *French* cloathes. Their ordinary weapons are bowes and arrowes, and long staves, or half pykes, with pieces of swords, daggers, or knives in the ends of them! They have Captaines, and are very good at a short mark, and nimble of foot to run away. Their manner of fighting is, most commonly, all in one fyle. They are many in number, and worship Kitan, their good god, or *Hobbamocco*, their evill god; but more feare *Hobbamocco*, because he doth them most harme. Some of their kings names are *Canonicus*, *Meantinomy*, *Owshamegin*, *Cushamegin*, *Webbacowitts*, and *Squa Sachem*, his wife: she is the Queene, and he is *Powahe*, and King, in the right of his wife. Among some of these Nations, their policie is to havetwo Kings at a time; but, I thinke, of one family; the one aged for counsell, the other younger for action. Their Kings succeed by inheritance.¹

¹ "Plaine dealing or Newes from New-England."

For thirty-eight years after the summary treatment accorded the Pequots, the intercourse between the English and the Indians was, on the surface at any rate, extremely friendly. But with the lapse of time the dread inspired by the white man's success on this occasion began to fade away; and as it became possible for the Indians themselves to use muskets instead of bows and arrows, their fear of the English grew less, until at length hate and resentment burst forth in what we have come to know as King Philip's War.

Some recent writers have declared that the economic and ecclesiastical results of this war give it its only title to a prominent place in Plymouth annals. This would seem to be the fact, for Philip was merely the degenerate son of the good King Massasoit; and, like many such sons, he made one desperate effort to bring himself and his followers once more conspicuously into a place of power. His wrongs were chiefly fancied ones, but he longed to stand at the head of the New England tribes and to lead his race to a place where they could recover the ground that they had lost.

Of course it was a fact that the English were increasing in power and the Indians steadily diminishing. That this was the Indians' fault did not change the fact. It was simply a case of the educated man possessed of industry, foresight, and increasing resources pitted against the apathy and avidness of the savage. Probably Philip felt that he had a real cause to hate the Pilgrims.

When Massasoit died in 1660, he left two sons, Wamsuppa and Matacom, whom the English nicknamed Alexander and Philip. Alexander succeeded to his father's position as head of the tribe; but his reign was brief and that for a reason to which many writers have attributed the cause of Philip's hatred.

Rumors had come to Plymouth that Alexander was plotting mischief, and he was accordingly summoned to appear before the General Court of the Colony and explain himself. He appears to have gone reluctantly, but he succeeded in satisfying the magistrate that he was innocent of any evil designs. Unfortunately, he had scarcely got clear of English territory, on his way back, when he was seized by a violent fever and died. Possibly he caught cold at Plymouth; perhaps he drank too deeply of "fire water" by way of celebrating his visit. In any case he died and the *onus* of his death was placed by the Indians on the Pilgrims.

For thirteen years Philip plotted before the crisis came. During those years he had been Chief Sachem of his tribe, and though the Plymouth people occasionally heard rumors of an unfriendly disposition on his part, nothing was done about the matter until in April, 1671, a meeting was arranged between the men of Plymouth and three Boston men to see what steps should be taken to keep the chief in order. This meeting was held at Taunton and resulted in a treaty in which the king promised

that his tribe should surrender all their firearms. Seventy muskets were actually given up, though not, we may be sure, without a great deal of reluctance. The following summer the Plymouth men were hourly expectant of attack from the Indians, and in September, Philip and five of his under-sachems were again told, at Plymouth, that it behooved them to look sharp and keep the peace. They agreed to pay a yearly tribute of five wolves' heads and to do no active fighting without the permission of the authorities.

Then, for three years more, things went on quietly enough until, late in 1674, Sausamon, a convert from a Massachusetts tribe, who could speak and write good English by reason of having studied at Harvard College, came to Plymouth and informed Governor Winslow that Philip was without question engaged in a conspiracy that boded no good to the colonists. Sausamon had been connected with Philip as a kind of messenger or secretary, and undoubtedly knew whereof he spoke, so the magistrates summoned Philip again and warned him that his arms would surely be seized if they heard any more about such plots. Philip loudly proclaimed that he was utterly innocent; but a few days later Sausamon suffered a violent death from drowning in the ice at Assowamsett Pond near Middleborough.

Then the storm broke. Having filled his followers full of war lust, the king opened hostilities by an attack on Swansea, a village of about forty

houses not far from Philip's headquarters at Mount Hope. On Sunday, June 20th, while everybody was at church, a group of Indians stole into the town and set fire to two houses. When messengers, who had been hurried from Plymouth and from Boston to demand that the offenders be given over to them under penalty of instant war, approached Swansea, they were chilled with horror to find the roads strewn with the mangled corpses of men, women, and children. This was in the last days of June, 1675. Soon it was perfectly evident that a well-thought-out movement was under way, first to overwhelm and annihilate the Pilgrims, and then to carry destruction to all the English settlements in New England.

But Philip had an enormous job on his hands. His own immediate tribe had dwindled to not much more than three hundred all told, while the whites in New England had increased to more than fifty thousand. The confederated colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut now numbered over forty thousand, against which the Indians could not possibly have mustered more than twelve thousand natives at most.

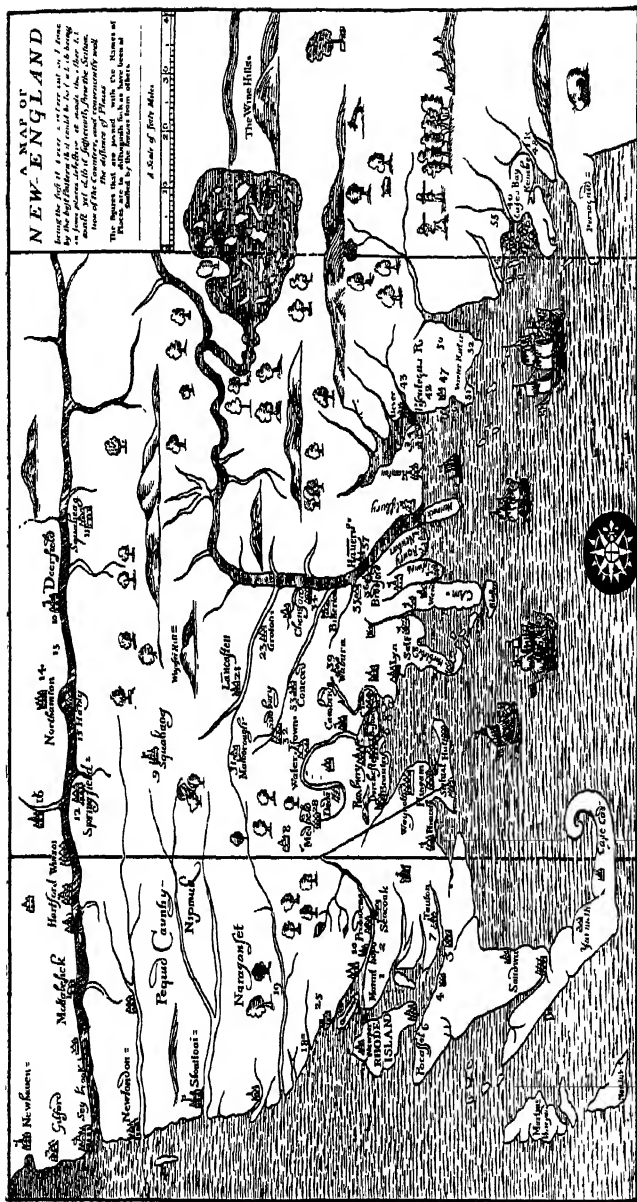
Yet the war ran on for more than a year and a half; massacre followed massacre, and town after town went up in flames. The opening attack on Swansea was quickly succeeded by attacks on Dartmouth, Middleborough, and Taunton. At the end of six weeks the scene of war shifted from the bounds of Plymouth to the territory of Massa-

chusetts, where the same horrors were reënacted. Then since the primary object of the struggle — to exterminate the Plymouth people — had not yet been attained, the Pilgrim settlement was again made a center of attack. William Clarke's garrison house, located within three miles of the Rock, was set upon and burned while the men were at church, and eleven women and children, including Mrs. Clarke, were killed; after which the Indians took what plunder they desired, set fire to the building, and fled.

As the first time that War actually touched the Plymouth settlement, this event is of distinct interest. Captain Michael Pierce of Scituate led a little company against the aggressive enemy, but the foe tremendously outnumbered him and his men, when he met them at what is now Pawtucket, and he and his company were utterly wiped out. Scituate, Rehoboth, Dartmouth, Bridgewater, and Middleborough shared in these horrors, as the war progressed. This was a black time all along the border line which separated the English and the Indians, for, as one writer says, "men took their lives in their hands when they went forth to their daily tasks; and wives and mothers left alone with their babes knew not what bereavements the night might bring them."

But the end was in sight. After a year and a half of struggle,¹ the Indians found their forces

¹ Considerable contemporary comment on this war as it progressed may be gleaned from the Hinckley papers — Plymouth, 1672-1692 — to be found in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collection, 4th series, V.



THE FIRST MAP ENGRAVED IN THIS COUNTRY (1677)

Note *Wine Hills*, a mistake for **White Hills**. A figure joined to the name of a town indicates that the place suffered from attacks of the Indians.



SOME OLD PLYMOUTH HOUSES
From a sketch by Howard Leigh.

so reduced that when the direction of the Pilgrims' fighters was turned over to Captain Benjamin Church, a Plymouth man, who has been called "the Miles Standish of the second generation", Philip was soon tracked to his lair and shot. Save for skulking Indians in swamps, petty skirmishes, and the like, the war was at an end. But its cost was great. Thirteen towns had been destroyed, six hundred dwelling houses burned, some six hundred men — many of them foremost citizens of their several communities — killed, and private property to the extent of about a hundred and fifty thousand pounds destroyed. All of which resulted in a debt which, distributed equally, meant four pounds almost if not quite, for every man, woman, and child left in the jurisdiction of the colony to meet. This was a staggering amount for Plymouth to assume; but it was eventually paid to the last penny.

Waging war with the Indians was the exception not the rule, however, as has been said. Provisions for peaceful life with these earlier inhabitants of Plymouth and the surrounding country had also to be made. The colonists early discovered that, human nature being what it is, regulations would be necessary in order that the Indians should receive absolutely fair treatment, and they proceeded to make such regulations. In 1643 it was enacted that it should be "beholden unlawful and of dangerous consequence and it hath been our constant custom *from our very first beginning*

that no person should purchase, rent or hire any lands, herbage, wood or timber of the Indians but by the magistrate's consent." In order that this law should be enforced, a fine of five dollars was imposed for every acre that was purchased, rented, or hired, and five times the value of the wood and the timber diverted to the Colony's use. In 1660 it was enacted that this law should be so interpreted as to prevent any from taking Indian land as a gift.

Thus every practicable precaution was taken to protect the rights of the Indians and to prevent improper and deceptive practices on the part of individuals. Then, for the peace and safety of the Colony, all persons were forbidden either to give or sell arms and the munitions of war to the Indians, or boats "excepting to such as had been servants for some years, and in a good measure civilized, and unless the sale to such should be approved by the governor and his assistants." In 1652 the sale of casks to the Indians was prohibited, and in 1656 that of barques, boats, and horses under the penalty of the value of each tenfold.

To be sure there were also laws not so defensible as these, such as the ones which undertook (1652) to prohibit the Indians from working, fishing, fowling, planting, killing, or carrying burdens on the Lord's Day. The idea of a law imposing severe penalties for a violation of the Sabbath upon people who do not acknowledge the Sabbath's sanctity does not particularly appeal to one's

sense of justice. Yet it is to be noted that such laws obtain on our statute books at the present time and are enforced. The Plymouth people put the laws on, but used a fine discretion about enforcing them.

A really arrogant law touching the Indians, one whose only defense is that it was a measure looking to self-preservation, dates from 1660 and reads as follows: "Inasmuch as complaint is made that many Indians press into divers places of this jurisdiction whereby some of the plantations begin to be oppressed by them, they therefore enact that no strange or foreign Indians shall be permitted to come into any places of this jurisdiction, so as to make their residence there and that notice be given to the several sagamores to prevent the same."

Laws against selling drink to the Indians, laws against selling them powder and shot, laws compelling them to pay their just debts or work them out at the rate of 12*d* each day in summer and 6*d* in winter "with their diet" may also be found. The selectmen and constables in every town were authorized also to put out "upon complaint" young Indians living idly to "some persons as shall keep them to work and not to abuse them." Even here the Indian was protected it will be seen.

Occasionally, too, they relaxed the strictness of their own laws against the Indians. Thus we find in the Plymouth Colony Records for 1665:

"Upon the earnest request of Philip, the Indian

sachem of Pocanacutt, for to have libertie to buy a horse within our jurisdiction, the Court have bestowed a horse on him, as judging it meeter then to give him libertie to buy one; the horse is that which provided for the trumpeter belonging to the troop of horses which is spared from the said service on condition that another bee provided to bee in his rome." And again

"Notwithstanding the law prohibiting the selling of horses to Indians, the Court aloweth Keenscomsett, an Indian att Barnstable, to buy a horse to bee for his use in husbandry, to bee done by the advise and direction of Mr. Hinckley, Mr. Gorum, and Nathaniell Bacon."

But I think it must already have been sufficiently established that whether the Pilgrims, on landing at Plymouth, did or did not fall on their knees, they neither then nor at a later period "fell on the aborigines."

CHAPTER IX

HOW THEY MADE THEIR LAWS AND TRIED TO LIVE UP TO THEM

EVEN before the Pilgrims had landed on the "stern New England coast", it became apparent to the most thoughtful among them that, in emigrating from Holland to America, they were in a way to achieve independence not only in ecclesiastical affairs but also in temporal matters. Much of this was a result of the years passed in Leyden. A consistently congregational Church government inevitably develops Democracy. And when Democracy begins to function in the field of religion, it is pretty sure also to function in the field of politics. Bancroft insists that the Compact signed in the *Mayflower* was the "birth of popular constitutional liberty."

The reason why the Mayflower Compact was necessary becomes quite clear if we remind ourselves that the place where the Pilgrims landed was a part of the coast *not included* in the territory of the Company of Southern Virginia. The grant from this company with which the emigrants had furnished themselves was, therefore, valueless.

Those who had embarked at Southampton were inclined to take advantage of this, declaring that, once they were on shore, they would comport themselves as they pleased in that they were bound to the expedition by no legal tie. This was too true to be ignored.

The members of the congregation from Leyden, on the other hand, had of course signed their Church Covenant, and so were, as Robinson and Brewster explained in their request made to the Virginia Company in 1617, "knite together as a body in a most stricte and sacred bond and covenante of the Lord, of the violation Whereof We make great conscience, and by Virtue Whereof We hold ourselves straitly tied to all, caring of each other's Good and of the Whole by every one and so mutually." Quite naturally it occurred to those of the Church Covenant to offer to the strangers who had come with them a contract similar to their own. A precedent for such an agreement as the basis of a civil association may be found in the form by which the old guilds, to which the company of the Pilgrim Fathers may be compared from a legal point of view, were wont to bind themselves together. The guilds were similar voluntary associations founded, until they received the sanction of a royal charter, on contract alone. It was apparently under the direction of Elder Brewster, who was a man of business as well as a man of God, that the Mayflower Compact was drawn up and signed without distinction as to heads of

families, just as the agreement which united the "Company of true Christians" had been signed by every one in the group. The names of common sailors and of servants are found among the signatures ¹ which have been preserved.

Bradford printed the text of this Compact in his "History" without giving the names of the signatories; these were furnished by Morton in his "Memorial", apparently from some list in Bradford's papers to which he had access. The Colony proper consisted of thirty-four adult males, eighteen of whom were accompanied by their wives, and fourteen by children under twenty-one years of age, — twenty boys and eight girls. Besides there were nineteen men servants and three maid servants, and sailors and craftsmen hired for temporary service.

Of the thirty-four men who were the nucleus of the Colony, the great majority were from Leyden, only four of the number being certainly known to have first joined at Southampton. It may

¹ John Carver	Edward Tilley	Degory Priest
William Bradford	John Tilley	Thomas Williams
Edward Winslow	Francis Cook	Gilbert Winslow
William Brewster	Thomas Rogers	Edmund Margeson
Isaac Allerton	Thomas Tinker	Peter Brown
Myles Standish	John Rigdale	Richard Britteridge
John Alden	Edward Fuller	George Sowle
Samuel Fuller	John Turner	Richard Clarke
Christopher Martin	Francis Eaton	Richard Gardiner
William Mullins	James Chilton	John Allerton
William White	John Crackston	Thomas English
Richard Warren	John Billington	Edward Doty
John Howland	Moses Fletcher	Edward Lister
Stephen Hopkins	John Goodman	

also be mentioned in advance that the last surviving signer of the far-famed compact was John Alden, who died in 1686 at the age of eighty-seven, and that of the passengers, the one who lived longest was Mary, the daughter of Isaac Allerton, who died as late as 1699, at the age of ninety.

Just because the Compact had been signed by practically all the male passengers of the *Mayflower*, the government of the Colony was from the beginning in the hands of the whole body, a General Court or Primary Assembly. This body chose Carver for their first Governor, and on his death, William Bradford, with Isaac Allerton as his assistant. It elected, too, a military commander, Miles Standish. Besides exercising elective functions, the members of the General Court decided on the place of settlement and the laying out of the town. The freemen as a whole were consulted about dangers of various kinds as they came up; they it was who sent Standish off on his notable adventure with the Indians. Later they were consulted as to the conditions on which certain newcomers should be admitted to the Colony; and they agreed, at the break-up of the joint-stock system under which the Colony lived its economic life at first, upon the division of lands and cattle. It was the whole company, too, which was summoned to do justice in the case of outstanding offenders.

Naturally as the number of colonists increased and other freemen were admitted on the approval

of those who first signed the Compact, it became impossible for the General Court to remain a primary assembly, though it was still the source of power. Thus it came about that the general body met as a rule only once a year, and on this occasion elected officers and framed or repealed laws. Originally this meeting was held on the first Tuesday in March, but later, on account of the severity of spring weather and the difficulties of travel, the time of convening the General Court was changed to the first Tuesday in June.¹

As the years passed, the tendency was for the Primary Court to let its powers lapse; in 1658 voting by proxy was allowed even in the June Court, and the freemen were not obliged to appear in person unless something of special importance made it necessary. Aged freemen as early as 1652 were permitted to send their votes, sealed up, a presage of the ballot system which came probably from Holland, where it was used largely in the elections of the Reformed Church.

Towards the end of the Colony's independent life the Primary Court did little except elect officers, all the other business of the Colony being done by the Governor and his assistants. There were now seven of these assistants to carry the heavy work, and they transacted their business either in their own monthly Courts or in the three

¹ To be sure other Courts were held in March and October, which were also called General Courts; but to them the freemen might send elected deputies instead of coming themselves.

annual General Courts, deputies or committees from each of the towns joining in the work.

But though the freeman, with this growth of representation, no longer had the personal share in the decisions of the Colony which he had exercised at the beginning, Democracy did not cease on that account. The machinery of government, the legislative and judicial systems, land owning, finance and military matters, all showed the same principle of equality, and all were intimately controlled by the will of the people. To be sure the conditions of the franchise were strict; for although freemen were not, as in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, compelled by law to be church members, church members would naturally be most readily approved. Moreover, the limitation of membership was character and not wealth. Not until 1671 was the possession of property made a condition of active citizenship.

If a man were elected to office he could not refuse to carry its burdens, and few, if any of the offices had any regular salaries attached to them. The mechanism of government was appealingly simple. The chief civil officers of the Colony in early days were the Governor and his assistants, who acted as magistrates; the Treasurer, who managed the finances, the Constable who saw to the keeping of the peace, and whose duty it was to collect the rates; the Marshall or messenger, who had to enforce the decisions of the Court.

This last-named functionary had a full-sized

job, for not only did he collect the fines but apparently he was the executioner as well. Jonathan Marsh in 1675 drew the line at "puting to death"; and the Court agreed to arrange otherwise for this unpleasant detail of the Marshal's department. In 1646 a Receiver of Excise was appointed in each town, and a Town Clerk to keep the registers of marriage, birth, and burial; in 1658 a Coroner was appointed, whose office was to be like that of the coroner in England. All these officials, great and small, were elected annually at the June Court.

In the matter of legislation, the Colony was governed, during the first sixteen years of its life, by the laws of England; but in 1636 a special committee of men from each township, together with the Governor and his assistants, drew up a code more particularly suited to the needs of Plymouth. This was revised and added to several times during the century, the special coöperation of freemen either personally or through committees being invited in the work. The intent seems to have been to safeguard in the laws the interests of all classes of persons, English and Indians alike; but local and temporary regulations and moral restrictions play an increasing part with the passage of the years, the code showing a tendency all the while toward the severity of the Jewish Law. Laws dealing with religious matters became more frequent too, as the years went on. Whereas things were so primitive in the beginning that no

statute book was deemed necessary — an entry in the Governor's notebook being regarded as sufficient for the purpose — toward the end of 1623, the Colony Record Book was started.

The first entry in this Record Book, under the date of December 17, 1623, marks an important development in criminal procedure. For the first recorded law of the Colony established trial by jury.

Previous to the year 1636, the Plymouth Colony may be considered to have been but a voluntary association, ruled by the majority and not by fixed laws. It does not appear (except in a very few instances) that the Pilgrims availed themselves of their delegated powers, under their patent, to enact laws until 1633. A few laws only, and such as were of the most urgent necessity, were then established, such as declaring every person within the jurisdiction liable to the performance of military duty; giving the jurisdiction of the probate of wills and of granting administrations to the Governor and assistants; regulating fishing and fowling; authorizing constables and persons trespassed upon to impound cattle taken in *damage feasant*. Penalties were directed to be inflicted on such as fired the woods. Lands of deceased persons were made liable for their debts in case of the insufficiency of personal property.

All this while, however, no provision was made for the support of schools or the clergy. The attachment of the people, then, insured the main-

tenance of the clergy without the coercion of the law; and no oaths of office were administered or required. The power of the Church, in effect, was superior to the civil power, but in terms was confined to the infliction of censure only. A people like the members of Robinson's church, of pure morals, austere manners, and enthusiastic piety, if confined to a small space, where the conduct of each would daily fall under the observation of the pastor, elder, and all such as they had been taught to venerate and were accustomed to respect, might be preserved for a time from the commission of any gross offenses or any desperate crimes. But as the settlements expanded, as trade increased, as strangers came in pursuit of gain without any reference to the ordinances of religion — men who, regardless of their spiritual good, pursued their temporal interest — the authority founded on the dread of censure alone became impaired. Codes of ethics, or the precepts of the gospel, could now no longer prevent the occurrence of disputes, or the existence of wrongs.

Civilians arguing upon the theoretic principles of government without considering the actual state of the people have inclined to think the colonists a trading corporation with confined and limited powers, not having the authority to enact laws or to perform any act of sovereignty. They did, as a matter of fact, exercise sovereign power during the whole period of their colonial existence; but the essential laws on which their

rule and government rested may be dated from 1633.

No further progress in lawmaking is to be noted during the next few years, but the time had now arrived when all perceived the necessity of defining the limits of the power and of prescribing the actual duties of the magistrates and of the people ; of securing civil privileges ; of establishing fundamental and organic laws, both civil and criminal, and making provision for their execution ; of changing the legal condition of the associates by making them a body politic, ruled by law and not by opinion ; in a word, of placing the government on a stable foundation and advancing another stage in the progress of social life.

On the fifteenth of November, at a Court of Associates, the following declaration was ordered :

“We, the associates of New Plymouth, coming hither as freeborn subjects of the State of England, and endowed with all and singular the privileges belonging to such, being assembled, do ordain that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance be made or imposed upon us at the present or to come, but such as shall be made and imposed by consent of the body of the associates, or their representatives legally assembled, which is according to the liberties of the state of England.”

This order is of no ordinary character. Whether the laws of England which preceded this order were renounced, is equivocal ; the authority of English laws “at present or to come” was re-

nounced, and Parliament was denied by the whole body of the associates the right of legislating for New Plymouth. This order is the first declaration of rights if not of independence, and the laws which followed became absolutely necessary for the preservation of the government.

The courts were now all to be holden at Plymouth unless otherwise ordered by the Governor and assistants, who were authorized upon reasonable cause "to keep some courts of assistants elsewhere."

It was enacted that on the first Tuesday of June, a governor and seven assistants should be chosen "to rule and govern the plantation within the limits of this corporation", and the election was confined to the freemen. The qualifications required to constitute a freeman were twenty-one years of age, "sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion", and a rateable estate of the value of twenty pounds. All these were prerequisites before any man was admitted to the oath prescribed to be taken by freemen.¹

¹ The following oath was prescribed for the freemen at this court :

"You shall be truly loyal to our dread lord King Charles, his heirs and successors, you shall not do nor speak, devise or advise anything, or things, act or acts, directly or indirectly by land or water that shall or may tend to the destruction or overthrow of the present plantations or township of the corporation of New Plymouth: neither shall you suffer the same to be spoken or done, but shall hinder, oppose and discover the same to the governor and assistants of the said colony for the time being, or some one of them : you shall faithfully submit unto such good and faithful laws and ordinances as either are or shall be made for the ordering and government of the same, and shall endeavor to advance the good and growth of the several

It was also enacted that the Governor in due season, by warrant directed to the several constables in the name of his Majesty, should give notice to the freemen either to make their personal appearance at the Courts of Election, or to send their votes by proxy for the choice of officers, and that all warrants, summons and commands "be all done, directed, and made in the name of our sovereign lord the king."

All this time the General Court was the supreme authority; and the following laws it made capital and ordered to be punished with death:

"1. Treason or rebellion against the person of our sovereign lord the King, the State or Commonwealth of England, or this corporation.

"2. Wilful murder.

"3. Diabolical conversation, or conversing with the Devil, by way of witchcraft, conjuration, or the like.

"4. Wilful or purposed burning of ships or houses.

"5. Rape, and the crimes against nature."

In the enumeration of capital offenses, burglary and highway robbery are omitted. Witchcraft is made capital, as it then was in England and probably throughout Christendom. The belief in its existence was a delusion common to all,

townships and plantations within the limits of this corporation by all due means and courses, all which you promise and swear by the name of the great God of heaven, and earth, firmly, truly, and faithfully to perform, as you hope for help from God, who is the god of truth, and punisher of falsehood."

and the extreme punishment was warranted by the general belief. So however deeply we may regret the ignorance and fanaticism of the age which cherished such a belief, we cannot with justice impugn the motives of those who provided this punishment. In the Plymouth Colony, happily, the law was a dead letter; or at least no convictions were made, and no punishment inflicted by reason of its existence.

The willful burning of ships or houses, without discriminating between the night and the day, was made a capital offense for reasons fairly obvious. The law in modern times changed this; punishment has also been relaxed in the case of crimes against nature, although such were punished capitally in Massachusetts until 1806.

The Court orders of these early days in Plymouth throw great light on the social life of the time, and on the problems of government with which Bradford and his associates had to cope. Here we find not only careful provision made that work necessary to the fortification of the town, for instance, should be performed in a just and equitable manner, and that men be provided with "a sufficient musket & other serviceable peece for war, with bandelereos & other apurtenants with what speede may be" (Plymouth Colony records, January 2, 1632 and 1633), but that property rights in hogs, always difficult animals to control, should be adequately defended. Hogs indeed run amuck in quite amusing fashion

through these otherwise serious and often tragic pages.

That there was considerable drunkenness is also clear, and that "bundling" had already begun to be practiced (but not winked at, as it was, later, in other parts of New England) is similarly plain.¹ Thus in April, 1633, we find in one day the three following items :

1. John Holmes was censured for drunkenness, to sitt in the stocke, & amerced in twenty shillings fine.

2. John Hows & Jone his wife adjudged to sitt in the stocke because the said Jone conceived with childe by him before they were publickely married, though in the time of contract.

3. John Thorp & Alice his wife likewise adjudged to sitt in the stocke, & amerced in forty shillings fine, because his wife conceived with childe before marriage, but in regard of their prnt poverty, twelve moneths time given for paymt."

Apparently, too, offenses against purity of life were punished even when the offenses dated back to the period before the migration. Thus we find in 1683 that

Whereas Thomas Boardman liveing incontinently with Luce, his now wyfe, and did beget her wth child before they were marryed together, wch upon examination was confessed by them both, the said Thom. Boardman was censured to be severely whipt, wch was performed, and to finde sureties for his good behavr ;

¹ See in this connection my "Social Life in Old New England," pp. 201-203.

and that he left the child (so unlawfully begotten) liveing in England, & bringe good testimonie thereof; and the sd Luce, his wyfe, to be censured when shee is delivered, as the Bench shall think fitt.

Directly under this entry in the old Court Orders is the amusing record that "Thomas Hallowell was committed because he cannot bring forth where he had a paire of red silk stockings, now showed in the court, which afterwards, he confessed that he tooke out of a window of a house in Boston, & was there upon sent to Boston to answeere the fact."

On the following page of the Records we find that the Thomas Boardman who had left a child behind in England was further required to bring from his London ward and parish proof that the child so left was alive when put out to nurse. This is but one illustration of the extreme care exercised that life at Plymouth should not fall below old-country standards in any respect.

None the less the records show repeated and gross instances of impurity. One does not have to look far here for the "original" of Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter." On September 3, 1639, we find that

Mary, the wyfe of Robt. Mendame, of Duxburrow, for using dalliance divers tymes with Tinsin, an Indian, and after committing the act of uncleannesse with him, as by his own confession by sevall interpreters is made apparent, the Bench doth therefore censure the said Mary to be whipt at a carte taylor through the

townes streete, and to weare a badge upon her left sleeve during her abroad within this gount; and if shee shalbe found without it abroad, then to be burned in the face with a hott iron; and the said Tinsin, the Indian, to be well whipt with a halter about his neck at the post, because it arose through the allurements & inticement of the said Mary, that hee was drawne thereunto.

Xpofer Winter, of Scituate, for committing uncleanness with Jane, his wyfe, before marriage, is censured to be whipt at the post at the govners discretion; and the said Jane, his wyfe, to be whipt at a cart's tayle wth the said Mary Mendame.

It is further interesting in this connection to find that in 1641, when Thomas Bray of Yarmouth, single, and Anne, the wife of Francis Linsford, confessed to immoral intimacy, they were censured "in the publike Court," as follows:

Forasmuch as Thomas Bray, of Yarmouth, a single pson, and Anne, the wyfe of Francis Linceford, have comitted the act of adultery and uncleannesse, and have divers tymes layne in one bed together in the absence of her husband, wch hath been confessed by both pties in the publike Court, the Court doth censure them as followeth: that they be both severely whipt immediately at the publik post & that they shall weare whilst they remaine in the Govment two letters, viz, an AD, for Adulterers, daly upon the outside of their uppermost garment, in a most eminent place thereof; and if they shalbe found at any time in any towne or place wthin the goverment without them so worne upon their uppermost garment as aforesd, that then the constable of the towne or place shall take them, or

either of them, omitting so to wear the said two letters, and shall forthwth whip them for their negligence, and shall cause them to be immediately put on againe, and so worne by them and either of them; and also that they shalbe both whipt at Yarmouth, publikely, where the offence was comitted, in such fitt season as shalbe thought meete by Mr Edmond Freeman & such others as are authorized for the keepeing of the Courts in these ptes.

Under Bradford there was no double standard of morals. The man and the woman were punished alike for their offenses, — and expected alike to cherish a high moral code.

Many and repeated whippings for sodomy are to be found in the records; for this offense men sometimes appear to have been put on probation, too, in the interest of good behavior. But the very blackest pages in the social history of the Colony are undoubtedly those given over (in 1642), to the case of one Granger where, under the items charged up by John Holmes, Court Messenger, are to be found some charges for going to Scituate, for a latch on the prison door, for ten week's "dyett", and "for executing Granger, and VIII beasts." This brings us to the horrible offense which so utterly discouraged Governor Bradford that several pages were devoted to it in the "History", as the good man tried to describe clearly yet in language which should not be too utterly revolting the crime for which Thomas Granger was tried and executed, a crime "horrible

to mention", as the writer says, "but ye truth of ye historie requires it." The dumb partners of the youth's impurity were "kild before his face", according to the Levitican Law, "the catle being all cast into a great & large pitte that was digged of purposs for them, and no use made of any part of them." Thus a mare, a cow, two goats, five sheep, two calves, and a turkey, according to Bradford, — were solemnly executed in the interest of decency and Plymouth's morals. The Governor's comment on this horrible happening is well worth our attention.

But it may be demanded how came it to pass that so many wicked persons and profane people should so quickly come over into this land, & mixe themselves amongst them? seeing it was religious men yt began ye work, and they came for religions sake. I confess this may be marveiled at, at least in time to come, when the reasons thereof should not be knowne; and ye more because here was so many hardships and wants mett withall. I shall therefore endeavor to give some answer hereunto. And first, according to yt in ye gospell, it is ever to be remembered, that wher ye Lord begins to sow good seed, ther ye envious man will endeavore to sow tares.

2. Men beginning to come over into a wilderness, in which much labour and servise was to be done about building and planting &c, such as wanted help in yt respecte, when they could not have such as they would, were glad to take such as they could; and so, many untoward servants sundry of them proved, that were thus brought over, both men and woman kind: who,

when their times were expired, became families of themselves, which gave increase hereunto.

3. An other and a maine reason hereof was, that men finding so many godly disposed persons willing to come into these parts, some began to make a trade of it, to tranesport passengers & their goods, and hired ships for that end; and then to make up their fraught and advance their profite, cared not who ye persons were, so they had money to pay them. And by this means the cuntrie became pestered with many unworthy persons, who being come over, crept into one place or other.

4. Againe the Lord's blessing usually following his people, as well in outward as spiritual things, (though afflictions be mixed with all), doe make many to adhear to ye people of God, as many followed Christ, for ye loaves sake, John 6. 26. and a mixed multitud came into ye wildernes with ye people of God out of Eagipte of old, Exod. 12. 38; so allso ther were sente by their freinds some under hope yt they would be made better; others that they might be eased of such burthens, and they kept from shame at home yt would necessarily follow their dissolute courses. And thus, by one means or other, in 20 years time, it is a question whether ye greater part be not growne ye worser.

One reason why so many crimes of a social nature are recorded was undoubtedly because the Pilgrims overdid in government supervision of private life. There was no single task to which the community set itself with greater diligence and enjoyment than that of watching one another. The truth is, of course, that because there were

almost no amusements in Plymouth, and only scanty relief from the hard conditions of pioneer life, the people were so thrown in upon themselves as almost inevitably to become backbiting, self-centered, — and immoral. We find a man being punished, for instance, for working in his garden on Sunday; yet such work might very well have been encouraged as a necessary relaxation from the gloom of a Pilgrim Sabbath. Stephen Hopkins, who kept the inn, was accused in 1637 of allowing men to drink in his hostelry “on the Lord’s Day before the Meeting be ended”, and allowing servants and others, both before and after meetings, to drink “more than for ordinary refreshing.” The records show indeed that Hopkins was rather constantly in trouble with his inn. Yet a little convivial drinking might not have been an unmixed evil under such conditions as obtained in Plymouth.

Inns and the liquid refreshment they dispensed were, however, an adjunct of organized religion in early New England, and the intention was to keep them such. Licenses were given only when the location of the inn was sufficiently near the meetinghouse to make it possible for the liquor and the good fire to be conveniently enjoyed between the morning and the afternoon services. The inn here was far from being an institution for social relaxation as in the Old Country. Social relaxation, indeed, was conspicuous by its *absence* in Plymouth; just as laws, more or less meticulous

and quite consciously repressive, were conspicuous by their *presence*.

Yet though it may seem to the reader of to-day that the penalties imposed upon those who broke the moral laws of Plymouth were extreme, they were, as a matter of fact, for that age comparatively mild. As we have seen in a previous chapter, England had not developed far above the savage state in its conception of how to treat offenders.

Another important function of the General Court was the granting of land. The Court likewise controlled the finances of the Colony and not only levied taxes but decided how much should be expended on each phase of government. Taxation, like military service, had to be borne alike by the freeman and the mere inhabitant, a very early law preventing the freeman from taking advantage of his position as a legislator to secure exemption from or reduction of his taxes. These taxes were levied strictly in accordance with what a man was able to pay; but the very human tendency to evade taxation must have existed even in these early days, for, in 1676, the rules for rating various towns end with this significant sentence: "If any have not given a true list of his estate, it may happily be discovered and made manifest by some of his neighbors." A Gilbertian provision against the evasion of taxes was to make the constable personally responsible if he neglected to collect amounts due. But Plymouth never levied either

poll tax or an income tax, preferring to add to her revenue in later years by indirect taxation, the proceeds of which seem usually to have been devoted to some special work. Thus timber boards, planks and tar, oysters and iron, were all subject to an export duty.

The extreme scarcity of coin in the Colony makes the financial side of the General Court's work colorful in retrospect, if difficult at the time. For taxes, like wages, had to be paid in kind, and when the treasurer had decided how much taxes were due, he had the job of collecting the cumbersome and perishable commodities which thus accrued. Thus the license fee for fishing at Cape Cod was collected by a special "water bayley." It was then appropriated to the support of the schools. The drift whales cast up upon the coast not inappropriately helped to defray the expense of maintaining the ministry.

Most of the money raised was used for defense, though some of it went in pensions or as rewards for public service. We early find a record that Standish was paid for teaching the use of arms in Plymouth and Duxbury. By degrees the gratuities of certain officials became so regular as to amount to a salary.

One duty of the magistrates was that of performing marriages, and by reason of this the colonists soon got into difficulties, as we shall see, with the Great Ones back in England.

Each township had its own officials — a con-

stable, selectmen, receivers of excise, a clerk to keep the registers — all elected by its own free-men. Towns might distribute and dispose of their lands, subject to the approval and occasional interference of Plymouth; they might make orders for themselves which were not repugnant to the general law, but each must possess a book of the laws of the Colony to “bee read oppenly once every yeare.” They had their magistrates, one of whom was specially authorized to perform marriages in the district; their selectmen were empowered to judge minor disputes, to enforce fines, to levy rates and to distrain for nonpayment. Each town had to provide itself with a place of defense, and to see that its inhabitants had the regulation supply of arms and attended the military trainings. Each was responsible for its own poor; for the keeping of its boundaries; the repair of its highways, bridges, and fences; and in later years each was compelled by law to build a meeting-house at public cost, to enforce church attendance, to collect the maintenance of ministers, and to support a school.

Thus the towns of Plymouth Colony possessed all the elements of self-government and were practically in the position of small republics, just as the Dutch cities were. The early laws of Plymouth are chiefly interesting, indeed, for their adaptation of English and Dutch ideals to New England conditions. The town meeting was the scene of the citizen’s greatest power, the school

of his training, but local and central government were linked by the annual meeting of all freemen, by the sending of deputies from each town to the other meetings of the General Court, and by the right of townships to nominate candidates for the assistantship, who were voted on by the whole country. After the Confederation was formed in 1643, the General Court of the Colony was linked in its turn with the Government of New England through the meetings of the Board of Commissioners. Thus local and central government alike were in the hands of all who possessed the franchise.

For more than thirty years Plymouth was fortunate enough to enjoy all the benefits of popular rule with very few of its drawbacks. And this for the reason that, from 1621 until his death in 1657 — with the exception of about five years — William Bradford, who was a great soul with a genius for public office, was the executive head of the Colony. When he died, public spirit declined in power, and ideals as a dynamic disappeared in large measure. With the confusion of the duties of Church and State came a sense of greater danger from dissent and consequently harsher judicial decrees. Then the franchise was narrowed, and something resembling the sectarian oligarchy of Massachusetts Bay grew up in this settlement also.

But Plymouth never put to death for opinion's sake as the Bay Colony did. When Mary Dyer,

the Quaker, found her way to this town, she was "restored" to her husband in Rhode Island, and Thomas Greenleaf, who had brought her, was forced to pay the costs. Her martyr's blood stains Boston Common, — *not* Plymouth Rock.

CHAPTER X

HOW THEY ESTABLISHED "FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD"

SCARCELY had the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth ¹ when it was decided that worship should be held in their

"Timber fort both strong and comely
With flat roof and battlements."

To this building every Sunday the men and women made their way three in a row until they built their first "meeting house" (in 1648) in the back of Bradford's garden at the foot of the hill below the fort. For the most part they were particular about calling this a meetinghouse, and so I suppose must we be. Cotton Mather has defended the stand they took on this by declaring that he "found no just ground in Scripture to apply such a trope as church to a house for public assembly"; and he opposed as vigorously the tendency to call after the name of the congregation who worshipped in the meetinghouse the meetinghouse in which

¹ Religious meetings were held in the cabin of the *Mayflower* probably throughout the first winter; the first service in Plymouth was held in the "Common House" in March, 1621.

they worshipped, as he did the even more insidious inclination to call the Sabbath Sunday.

The Pilgrims made better progress in setting up a place to worship than in securing a religious leader. William Brewster had been appointed Ruling Elder of the church before they left Holland, and during the earlier years of the Plymouth settlement worship was chiefly conducted under his ministrations. Some writers assert that Robinson was prevented by those in authority in England from coming over to join his people in the hope that without their pastor, these Separatists might fall back into the forms and the faith of the Established Church. However this may be, he did not come during the first years; and when he died in 1625, Brewster, who had been acting in his stead, continued so to act until 1629, when Ralph Smith, who had come over that year, became the first settled minister in Plymouth.

Meanwhile it became quite evident that the authorities in England were not disposed to relinquish without a struggle spiritual oversight of the Cape Cod Colony. Upon a certain Church of England clergyman, William Morrel by name, were bestowed general powers of regulation and control over the religious affairs of the country. But he was treated in such a brotherly and friendly manner during the year he spent at Plymouth that instead of trying to control the Pilgrims in their worship, he put in his time studying anthropology among the Indians and accumulating observations on

natural history ! It was only when he came to go away that he confided to Bradford the news of his ecclesiastical commission. Bradford says in this connection : "He had I know not what power and authority of superintendency over other churches granted him and sundry instructions to that end."

With the name, not of Morrel but of Lyford, another Episcopal clergyman of ostensibly Separatist sympathies, is tied up the story of the first real religious difficulties that the Pilgrims encountered. Lyford arrived in the spring of 1624, and, aided and abetted by John Oldham, really made a great deal of trouble. Oldham was one of a group of "particulars" brought over by the *Anne* in July, 1623. These men had paid their own expenses, and on this account, perhaps, felt perfectly free to stir up all the trouble they wanted to in the Colony. At any rate they had no sooner landed than they began to sow disagreement among those who were not members of the Pilgrim Church. When John Lyford arrived the following spring and fell in with their game, the colonists found themselves with a real problem on their hands.

The ship which brought Lyford brought also a series of complaints made by some returned "particulars." Briefly these were : that there was much religious controversy in the Colony ; that family exercises on Sunday were neglected ; that both sacraments were disused ; that the children were not catechised or even taught to read ; that many of the "particular" members refused to

work for the generals; that the water was not wholesome; that the ground was barren and would not bear grass; that the climate was such that salt would not preserve fish; that there was hardly a fish or wild fowl to be found; that thieves abounded and so did wolves and foxes; that the Dutch were intruding on the trade, and finally, that the people were much troubled with mosquitoes! To this rather miscellaneous assortment of criticisms, Bradford, when the ship returned some months later, sent a reply which is noteworthy as a fine mixture of gravity and satire.

From the beginning down, he declared, there had been no controversy, public or private, on religious matters; any neglect of family prayers on the Lord's Day would be rebuked, if known; that they were deprived of their pastor and his ministration of the sacraments was grievous, for when with him they had the Communion every Sunday; the children generally were taught in private families, and the Colony desired at once to begin "common school" for which a teacher and due support had been heretofore lacking; all the "particulars" *do* work for "generals" — willingly or unwillingly — and will be taught to work *well*, or the plantation will rid itself of such; the water was "as good as any in the world, though not like the beer and wine of London which the grumblers so dearly love"; in England was no such grass and the cattle were already "fatt as need be", and would there were one animal for each hundred the grass

would keep ; the matter of fishing was too absurd, in view of the great fishing fleet which visited the coast every year ; sundry thieves who had come in there had "smarted well for it", but if London had reared no thieves, none of them would have got over to trouble this Colony ; foxes and wolves were in many good countries, but poison and traps would thin them ; if the Dutch, with commendable energy, were getting a strong hold now they would get Plymouth too if the plantation should be broken up ; and, finally, men who could not endure a bite of a "mosquitoe" were too delicate for founding colonies.

Lyford appears to have been a thoroughgoing scamp. Apparently the plotting Adventurers had made him their agent in the belief that by being "in" on the councils of the Pilgrims and sending back to them reports which could be used to further their own purposes, real headway might be made in undermining the Separatist group and what they were endeavoring to do. As a first step toward currying favor, the newcomer offered to renounce his Episcopal ordination, declaring that he could consider himself no minister unless he were reordained by the people of Plymouth. Elder Brewster promptly set him right in this matter, assuring him that the Pilgrims had no desire to separate people from the Church of England, only from the world, and that they were willing to leave church enemies to care for themselves. So it rested. Lyford was not chosen

pastor, but he preached in turn with Brewster, and all went on well enough until, after some weeks, as the *Charity* was about to go back to England again, it was noted that the clerical and Oldham were writing great numbers of letters and having many talks together which apparently gave them much amusement. The occasion seemed to Bradford to call for the exercise of a judicious censorship; and since Captain William Peirce of the *Charity* was an earnest friend of the Colony, this was easily arranged.

When the *Charity* set out on its return voyage, Bradford went with her, towing the shallop in which to sail back to land. Then the ship's captain put into his hands letters given to him by Lyford and Oldham, letters which contained reports that not only would not have enhanced the repute of the Pilgrims in England, but which, if brought to the attention of the Privy Council, might have led to an investigation with unfortunate results.

It now appeared that a real plot had been hatched. For when confronted with chapter and verse concerning his perfidy, Oldham played his trump card and called upon the people, saying, "My maisters wher is your hearts? Now show your courage; you have oft complained to me so and so, now is the time. If you will doe anything I will stand by you." Apparently Oldham was aiming at nothing less than a majority vote which would have made *him* Governor of the Colony! He could then have appointed Lyford as minister,

and between them they might have made any change in the laws which they desired to make. To their chagrin not a man stood by them when the test came. Once more Bradford had triumphed superbly over his enemies. Of course the people quickly rendered a verdict condemning the culprit and justifying Bradford in the matter of intercepting the letters.¹ Oldham was sentenced to leave the Colony at once, though his wife and family were to be allowed to remain throughout the winter or until he could make provision for them. Lyford was given permission to remain six months longer, with the intimation that, if he should entirely reform, the sentence of expulsion might be revoked. Later Oldham was so offensive when, returning without leave, he insulted all the authorities, that he had to be very summarily punished; and Lyford, when proved guilty of loose conduct and very grave immorality not only since he had come to Plymouth but before that in England, was also dealt with as he deserved to be.

The whole episode, to which many pages are devoted in Bradford's "History", is interesting in this connection chiefly because it served to unify

¹ It is interesting to note that in 1776 the Committee of Safety at Boston opened all letters coming from Halifax which were addressed to Tory inhabitants. On at least one occasion they publicly announced that information which they used had come to them "by an intercepted letter." Copies were taken of some letters which Lyford had sent, the originals of the more important were kept, and copies of these sent on. So when Bradford returned, he had with him the evidence of treachery on the part of Lyford and Oldham and a little later was able to charge them, at a meeting of the General Court of the Colony, with what they had done.

the spiritual interests of the men of Plymouth and to deepen and strengthen the religious zeal of many who had previously stood aloof from the church organization of the Colony.

None the less some time passed before a suitable pastor was found. In 1628 a Mr. Richards was sent out from England, but as stated by Bradford it was found "on trial that he was crased in his braine so that they were forced to be at further charge to send him back again the next year." And Mr. Ralph Smith, who has been referred to as "the first settled minister", while a graduate of the University of Cambridge and a man of learning, failed to satisfy fully — though he served the Pilgrims at Plymouth for seven years — because he was less distinctly of the Separatist persuasion than they wished their minister to be. From 1631 to 1634 Roger Williams acted as Mr. Smith's assistant, but finding the atmosphere of Plymouth too liberal for his taste, moved on to Salem. It is to be noted, however, that Williams not only was *not* expelled from Plymouth, as some have said, but has been accorded by Bradford this tolerant if not admiring paragraph in the "History": "He is to be pitied and prayed for, and so I shall leave the matter and desire the learned to show him his errors and reduc him in the way of truth and give him a setled judgment and constancie in the same; for I hope he belongs to the Lord and that he will show him mercie."

The next clergyman on the list is one John

Reynor, a graduate of Magdalen College, Cambridge, England, whose ministry continued until 1654, or eighteen years in all. Under his direction it was that the first meetinghouse built by the people of Plymouth was erected in 1648. Apart from the fact that Mr. Reynor built this meetinghouse, the thing of greatest interest in connection with his pastorate is that he had as his assistant while at Plymouth Charles Chauncey, a man of much more than average ability, who, though he gave the Pilgrims some great preaching, gave them also views of baptism which they found it difficult to accept. Chauncey was convinced that only by immersion could baptism be regarded as thoroughgoing and effective, and, while they were willing to let *him* cherish this view, the Pilgrims were not willing to accept it for themselves. He was offered the alternative of remaining and baptizing after his own method as many as wished so to be baptized and administering the Communion by candlelight to all who preferred this time for partaking of the Last Supper. But he was not content with halfway measures and withdrew to Scituate. Later he became the second President of Harvard College.

It began to look as if Plymouth never would find a minister wholly to its taste. There were long periods, indeed, during which, though there would be preaching, there was no settled pastor and no permanent occupant of the pulpit. In one of these interims Elder Thomas Cushman, who

succeeded Elder Brewster, did good service in expounding the Word. Then after years of waiting, the man for the place was found in the person of John Cotton, Junior, — a son of the famous divine, Reverend John Cotton of the Bay Colony, — who appears to have inherited no small measure of the ability of his father, and under whom in 1669 the Church at Plymouth was thoroughly reorganized. His ministry, in that it takes the history of Plymouth on beyond the year 1692, when the old Colony was merged in the Bay Colony, suggests the place at which to drop these detached notes on the almost futile endeavors of the church leaders of Plymouth to import from England a minister who believed precisely as they did. Apparently there was no such person.

It will be much more interesting and profitable to get, if we can, a glimpse of these Plymouth people at worship. Governor Winthrop has described for us a visit he made to Plymouth in 1632, which helps us somewhat to do this. This was at the time when Roger Williams was assisting Pastor Smith in his ministry. The visitors had come part of the way by boat and made the remaining distance on foot. Bradford, Brewster, and others went out to meet them; and after offering them entertainment, took them for their edification to the House of Worship.

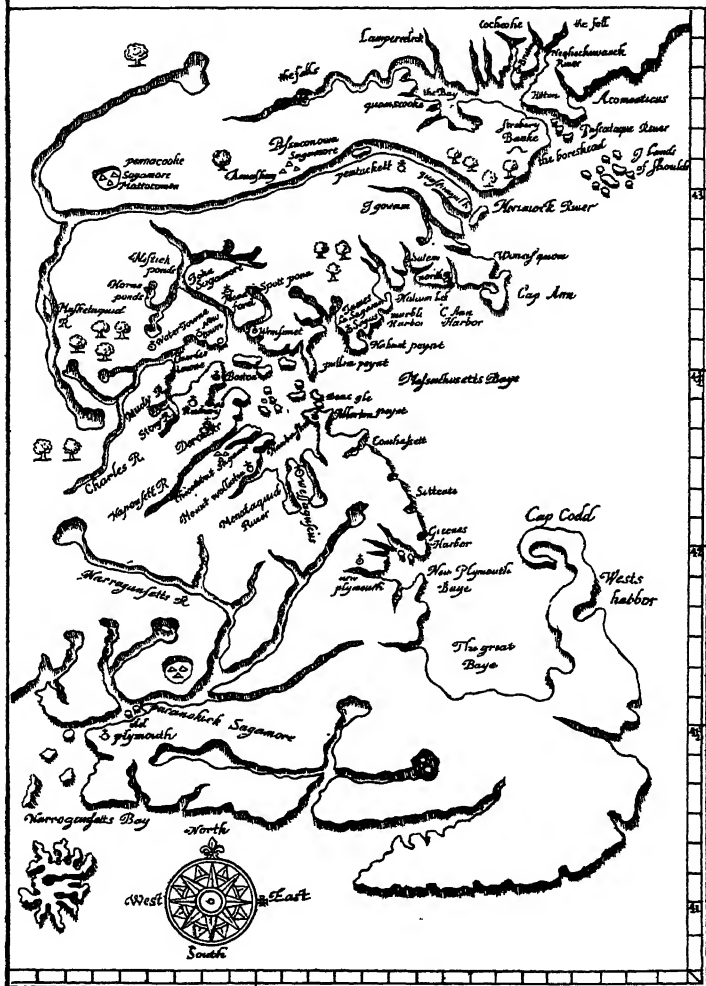
“On the Lord’s Day,” Winthrop writes, “was a sacrament which they did partake in and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams, according to their

custom, propounded a question to which their pastor, Mr. Smith, spoke briefly. Mr. Williams prophesied the topic he had submitted; and after the Governor spoke to the question; after him the Elder; then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the Elder desired the Governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Williams to speak to it which they did. When this was ended, the Deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of the contribution, upon which the Governor and all the rest went down to the Deacon's seat and put into the bag, and then returned."

Not quite so much color here as in the brief description of the church life of the time which De Rasières sent home in October, 1627:

Upon the hill they have a large square house with a flat roof, made of thick, sawn planks, stayed with oak beams, on the top of which are six cannons, which shoot iron balls of four and five pounds and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the Captain's door; they have their cloaks on and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the Governor in a long robe; beside him, on the right hand, comes the Preacher with his cloak on and on the left hand the Captain with his side-arms and cloak on and with a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him. Thus they are on their guard, night and day.

The South part of New-England, as it is Planted this year, 1634.



FIRST ECCLESIASTICAL MAP OF NEW ENGLAND

From Cotton Mather's "Magnalia." This earliest church survey of America shows by a cross the towns that had meeting-houses.

PSALME Cxix. Cxx. &c

for thy commandments chose have I.

- 174 I long for thy salvation, Lord:
and my delights in thy law ly.
175 Let my soule live, & shew thy prayse:
help mee also thy judgements let.
176 Like lost sheep strayed, thy servant seekes
for I thy laws doe not forget

Psalme 120.

A song of degrees.

- V**Nto the Lord, in my distresse
I cry'd, & he heard mee.
2 From lying lipps & guilefull tongue,
o Lord, my soule set free.
3 What shall thy false tongue give to thee,
or what on thee confer?
4 Sharp arrows of the mighty ones,
with coales of juniper.
5 Woe's mee, that I in Meslech doe
a sojourner remaine:
that I doe dwell in tents, which doe
to Kedar appertaine.
6 Long time my soule hath dwelt with him
that peace doth much abhorre,
7 I am for peace, but when I speake,
they ready are for warre.

Psalme 121.

A song of degrees.

- I**To the hills lift up mine eyes,
from whence shall come mine aid.
2 Mine help doth from Iehovah come,
which heav'n & earth hath made.

G g 3

1 Hoo

No contemporaneous description of the Pilgrims at worship gives us any adequate idea of the kind of service that they used. Books were of course scarce, and participation in worship was necessarily difficult for those unable to read or not endowed with an excellent memory. In the Bay Colony it early became the custom to "line the psalms", *i.e.* give the psalm out line by line before it was sung, but this practice was not introduced at Plymouth until 1681. Henry Ainsworth's version of the psalms which they had used in Holland was after a time abandoned for the Bay Psalm Book, and it would be a rash soul who should assert that this innovation brought to Plymouth worship additional dignity or beauty.

The very first book printed in New England was this "Bay Psalm Book", now the rarest of all *Americana*, and, in some ways, the most interesting. Richard Mather, Thomas Welde, and John Eliot collaborated in the text of this volume, and President Dunster of Harvard College promptly put their verses into type upon a "printery" which cost fifty pounds and had been a gift of friends in Holland.

Cotton Mather, in his "Magnalia", relates with evident appreciation the history of this epoch-making book:

About the year 1639, the New-English reformers, considering that their churches enjoyed the other ordinances of Heaven in their scriptural purity, were willing that "The singing of Psalms" should be restored among

them unto a share of that *purity*. Though they blessed God for the religious endeavors of them who translated the Psalms into the *meetre* usually annexed at the end of the Bible, yet they beheld in the translations so many *detractions* from, *additions to*, and *variations of*, not only the text, but the sense of the psalmist that it was an offense unto them.

Resolving then upon a new translation, the chief divines in the country took each of them a portion to be translated; among whom were Mr. Welde and Mr. Eliot of Roxbury, and Mr. Mather of Dorchester. These, like the rest, were so very different a *genius* for their poetry that Mr. Shephard, of Cambridge, in the occasion addressed them to this purpose:

You Roxb'ry poets keep clear of the crime
Of missing to give us a very good rhyme.
And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen
And with the text's own words, you will them
strengthen.

The Psalms thus turned into *meetre* were printed at Cambridge in the year 1640. But afterwards it was thought that a little more of art was to be employed upon them; and for that cause they were committed unto Mr. Dunster, who revised and refined this translation; and (with some assistance from Mr. Richard Lyon who, being sent over by Sir Henry Mildmay as an attendant unto his son, then a student at Harvard College, now resided in Mr. Dunster's house :) he brought it into the condition wherein our churches have since used it. Now though I heartily join with these gentlemen who wish that the poetry thereof were mended, yet I must confess, that the Psalms have never yet seen a *translation* that I know of nearer to the

Hebrew original; and I am willing to receive the excuse which our translators themselves do offer us when they say: "If the verses are not always so elegant as some desire or expect, let them consider that God's altar needs not our pollishings; we have respected rather a plain translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase. We have attended conscience rather than elegance, fidelity rather than ingenuity, so that we may sing in Zion the Lord's songs of praise, according unto his own will, until he bid us enter into our Master's joy to sing eternal hallelujahs."

If Cotton Mather had exercised the same judicial mind and Christian charity when dealing with the witches as when dealing with the labors of his brother-ministers, his name would not to-day be anathema. The "Bay Psalm Book", no less than the witches, needed to be gently dealt with, though, for in place of the dignified rendering which the English Bible had given the Psalms of David, there appeared from the hands of the New England translators such verses as these:

Likewise the heavens he down-bow'd
 And he descended, & there was
 under his feet a gloomy cloud
 And he on cherub rode and flew;
 yea, he flew on the wings of winde.
 His secret place hee darkness made
 his covert that him round confinde.

Reverend Elias Nason wittily says of this triumph in collaboration: "Welde, Eliot and Mather mounted the restive steed Pegasus, He-

brew psalter in hand, and trotted in warm haste over the rough roads of Shemitic roots and metrical psalmody. Other divines rode behind, and after cutting and slashing, mending and patching, twisting, and turning, finally produced what must ever remain the most unique specimen of poetical tinkering in our literature.”¹

One difficulty with the church and church worship seems to have been that no proper provision was made for the support of a minister. At first the piety of the people and the zeal of their religious leaders made it unnecessary that legal contracts should exist between them. The engagement between the minister and his congregation was held to be of a spiritual and not a civil character, a thing which should not be discussed in terms of dollars and cents. But zeal alone could not furnish bread, and the wants of a minister were as definite as those of the people to whom he ministered. In 1655 the Legislature proceeded to take steps insuring proper support of public worship and fitting maintenance for ministers. In 1657 a law was passed to the effect that “in whatsoever township there is or shall be an able, godly, teaching ministry, which is approved by this Government . . . some men be chosen by the inhabitants, or in case of their neglect, chosen by any three or more of the magistrates to make a just and equal proportion upon the estates of the inhabitants according to their abilities to make

¹ Quoted from my “Social Life in Old New England.”

any such convenient . . . maintenance . . . for the ministers' comfortable attendance on his work." It is interesting in this connection to note that whereas the ministers had previously gathered the rates, this unpleasant adjunct of religious leadership was abolished in 1670, it being recognized that such duties were unbecoming to the clergy and "might be an occasion to prejudice some persons against them and their ministry."

Soon after the support of the minister had been provided for out of the public treasury, it was enacted (in June, 1675) that a meetinghouse should be erected in every town in the jurisdiction, and any town refusing or neglecting to do this might have a meetinghouse erected for them and then charged up against them.

The Town Records all this while show that church life and community life touched each other intimately on many sides. We read that the Town Meeting fixes the minister's salary and votes to put "two Casements" in the meetinghouse between the pulpit "to let in arre into ye house." Again it orders Thomas Phillips to build a gallery and "seat it with Town born children only." In 1662 the Church at Plymouth provided that to "the able & godly minister among them should be given some part of every whale there cast up from the sea."

On the other hand marriages, now considered to be primarily "church affairs", were not in early Plymouth days associated with church life and

church interests at all, but were regarded as civil affairs only. Not until Plymouth was merged into Massachusetts were the clergy authorized to solemnize marriage. In this important department of life the Pilgrims adopted the view of the Dutch Calvinists; they held that the Scriptures and the Primitive Christians had never authorized clergymen to perform marriage services, but that on the contrary marriage, with its civil obligations and its connection with the rights of property as well as because of its business importance to the State, ought to be a strictly civil contract to be entered into before the magistrate. As a matter of fact they could not well do anything else, in that for so long a time, as we have seen, there was no minister in Plymouth. One great point made against Winslow, when Merry-Mount Morton sent back to Archbishop Laud his slanderous reports, was that he not only had publicly taught at the Sunday services, but that as a magistrate he had joined people in marriage. To which Winslow replied that he *had* taught when his brethren "wanted better means which was not often"; and that as a magistrate he had conducted marriages. With perhaps more courage than wisdom he then proceeded to defend this latter practice not only on the ground that the custom had long obtained in Holland — and that he, himself, had been so married there in 1617 — but urging further that he knew no Scriptural ground for confiding this office to the clergy. Laud's answer to this was to demand that

the bold radical be committed to jail; and this was done, Winslow being confined in the Fleet Prison for seventeen weeks at a time when Plymouth could not only not afford to pay for his residence in this unwholesome spot, but also could not afford to spare him from the care of various business matters which he had in hand for them at the time.

How curiously confused some clerical minds were in regard to these things is shown by the fact that Richard Mather, father of Increase, whom Plymouth once wanted as a minister but did not succeed in obtaining (though he regarded his Episcopal ordination in England as "sin and folly"), preached regularly at funerals. Yet not once during the fifteen years that he served as a minister in Dorchester did he wear a surplice, — which caused an examining ecclesiastic to declare that this omission was worse than if he had had seven illegitimate children!

Funerals were almost always starkly severe in old Plymouth. Even when Bradford died there was no burial service, though the whole community stood sadly and reverently by while the grave was filled. On this occasion volleys were fired and the Train Band did escort duty. A similar show of ceremony marked the interment of various other colonial functionaries. The omission of any form of religious service at funerals was due to the fact that the Separatists were extremely fearful that church ceremonies over the dead

would grow into prayers for their souls. The French Protestant churches definitely forbade prayer or sermon at funerals "to avoid superstition."

In less austere sections of New England funerals in time came to be festivals; but not so in Plymouth. Though when the body of Titus Waymouth was interred in 1656 at the expense, for some reason or other, of the town, the concluding item on the bill which has come down to us suggests that the comforts of the tavern were just beginning to palliate the gloom of the funeral office. This bill reads:

Item.—	For a winding sheet, 5 yards of	£	s.	d.
	lockorum & thread	0	8	5
	Coffin	0	8	0
	Digging Grave	0	3	0
	Clerk of Court	0	2	6
	Tavern Charges	0	12	0
		1	13	11

The Plymouth Pilgrims never persecuted those who differed from them religiously. To be sure, they prevented the Quakers from settling among them, but this they did not so much because they objected to the Quakers' theological views, as because they objected to the extraordinary manner in which these zealots then found it necessary to conduct themselves. It was naturally disturbing to the life of a town to have women appearing at public meetings without any clothes on, as the

Quakers occasionally did, just out of sheer religious enthusiasm; and it was also disturbing to have them constantly interrupt preachers whom other people were desirous of hearing. So they were banished from Plymouth, and when some of them persisted in their course, imprisoned. This was as near persecution as the Plymouth Colony came. In the same way they put up with the vagaries of Roger Williams much longer than some other sets of people did; and in the witchcraft delusion only two persons were even tried at Plymouth, and both of these were acquitted.

The first law enacted against the Quakers in Plymouth was in 1657. This was an act forbidding the bringing of Quakers into the colony by a resident on pain of twenty shillings' fine a week for every week the prohibited person remained within the jurisdiction of the colony. It was a law inspired by the Massachusetts Bay people, who had suffered much at the hands of these enthusiasts. Subsequently another law was made which carried with it "added prohibitions and increased penalties." Now it was made a crime not only to bring Quakers into the Colony, but knowingly to harbor them after they had come. The fine for this offense was five pounds or a whipping. In 1658 a law was passed disfranchising Quakers, and as they were wandering up and down the land without any lawful calling, a House of Correction was built, in which, under the charge of vagabondage, they might be locked up

and set to work. Officers of the State were at this time authorized to "seize all the books and writings in which the doctrines and creeds of the Quakers were contained." When Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick and Mary Dyer found their way to Plymouth, the penalty of death for people of this faith was being contemplated.

Here, however, legal authority interposed in the interest of humanity. Members of the Society of Friends on the other side of the Atlantic appealed to Charles II on behalf of their prosecuted brothers in America, and promptly all the governors of New England received notice that there must be no more prosecutions and no more hangings of "those people called Quakers", but that all cases in which they were involved must be transferred to England for trial and final disposition. Thus it may happily be written down that no Quaker was put to death in the Plymouth Colony.

The same may be said of witches. England and Scotland were burning and hanging witches right and left at the time that the Pilgrims were making laws and learning how to live happily in Plymouth; and the terrible story of witch persecution in the Bay Colony constitutes of course the blackest chapter in the history of that settlement. People were commonly convinced that witches existed. Sir Matthew Hale said that "he did not in the least doubt there were witches." A century later Lord Mansfield, a liberalist in his religious views if not in his politics, expressed the

same opinion. So that, as Palfrey says, it was not to be expected of the colonists of New England that they should be the first to see through a delusion which had befooled the whole civilized world and the greatest and most knowing persons in it. We have seen that witchcraft was made one of the capital crimes named in the Plymouth laws of 1636. In this respect the Colony was not unlike the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Manhattan, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, but it was unlike some of these others in that there were very few witches within its bounds, and that the authorities were definitely indisposed to convict persons charged with the crime of witchcraft.

As a matter of fact, only two cases were ever brought to trial in Plymouth, and no witch was ever executed here. Bradford nowhere refers to witchcraft. So, though the Pilgrims were not superior to their times, in that they recognized witchcraft to the extent of making it a capital offense in their laws, they were extraordinary in that they never punished these poor deluded folk as they might have been able under their laws to do.

One feels that Bradford, with his broad human outlook and his sense of humor, might have been able to deal more wisely than his successor, Thomas Prence, did with the problem created by the Quakers. Prence had come to Plymouth in 1621 on the *Fortune*, and having married the daughter

of William Collier, richest man in the Colony, and served for a number of years as Bradford's assistant, was a natural person to succeed the first Governor at the end of his long reign. The problem of the Quakers was the first one with which he had to grapple. In March, 1657, one of this brotherhood entered the jurisdiction from Rhode Island and was promptly ejected. Several weeks later another appeared and was also ejected. But in neither case was there any violence or any penalty imposed. Then came some Quakers who "talked back" to Governor Prentice; and this was not to be borne. The Court Records tell the tale vividly:

At this Court, Humphrey Norton and John Rouse, two of those called Quakers, appeared, and presented themselves in the towne of Plymouth on the first of June, 1658, contrary to a law enacted prohibiting any such to come into the collonie, and were apprehended and committed to ward untill Thursday, the third of June, 1658, at which time they were presented before the Court and examined, and behaved themselves, in speciall Humphry Norton, turbulently, and said unto the Gov sundry times, "Thou lyest;" and said unto him, "Thomas, thou art a malicious man;" in like manor the said John Rouse behaved himselfe in his words unto the Court unworthily; and soe were returned unto the place whence they came untill Saturday, the fift of June, att which time the said Norton and Rouse were againe sent for unto the Court; att which Court whereas formerly Christopher Winter had deposed to a paper containing sundry notoriouse errors expressed by the said Norton, and by him desired to bee

enquired into, a copy of the said paper was delivered unto him in the Court, and hee was demaunded by the said Winter whether hee would deney any of those pticulares therin contained; and liberty was given by the Court, that in case hee, the said Norton, would, both hee and the said Winter might returne to the prison, with three or foure men with them, to see and take knowlidg wherein they differed; and accordingly this was done, and a returne made of very little difference betwixt what Winter affirmed and the said Norton owned.

Moreover, at the same time, the said Norton againe carried very turbulently, saying to the Gov, "Thy clamarouse tounge I regard noe more then the dust under my feet; and thou are like a scoulding woman; and thou pratest and deridest mee," or to the like effect, with other words of like nature, and tendered a writing, desirouse to read it in the Court; to the which the Gov replied, that if the paper were directed to him, hee would see it before it should bee openly read; the said Norton refused to deliver the said paper to the Gov, and soe it was prohibited to bee read.

At the same time the said Humphrey Norton and John Rouse were required severally, that as they professed themselves to bee subjects to the state of England, that they would take an oath of fidelitie to bee true to that state; which they refused to doe, saying they would take noe oath att all. In fine, the said Humphrey Norton and John Rouse were centanced, according to the law, to be whipped; the which the same day accordingly was pformed; and the under marshall requiring his fees, they refuseing to pay them, they were againe returned to bee in durance untill they

would pay the same; where they remained until the tenth of June, 1658, and so made composition in some way with the said marshall, and soe went away.

The fact is that the Pilgrims really made an honest effort to give to others that freedom in matters religious they themselves had sought to find in coming to New England. Therein they differed radically from the Puritans. No American has stated this difference more clearly than the late George Frisbie Hoar. "The Massachusetts Bay Puritan," he says, "had a capacity for an honest hearty hatred, of which I find no trace in Pilgrim literature." "A personal devil," he adds humorously, "must have been a great comfort to our Massachusetts ancestors, as furnishing an object which they could hate with all their might without violation of Christian principles."¹

Charity was in very truth the great quality with which the Pilgrims were abundantly endowed and which the men who settled in and about Boston lacked. To understand this it is only necessary to compare what Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich says, in his "Simple Cobbler of Agawam", with the farewell counsel of John Robinson as reported by Winslow. "It is said," writes Ward, "that men ought to have liberty of conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them from it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this. . . . No man is so accursed with indelible infamy as authors of heresies."

¹ Pilgrim Society Celebration : 1895.

John Robinson, spiritual head of the Pilgrims, on the other hand charged his followers, as they were about to sail for the New World, before God and His blessed angels, "to follow him no further than he followed Christ; *and if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of His, to be as ready to receive it as we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of His Holy Word.*"

This, the Pilgrims' declaration of religious independence, is worthy to stand side by side with the opening sentences of the Declaration of Independence. Not without its effect on the character and ideals of the men who sailed to America in the *Mayflower* had been those eleven years spent under the liberal and democratic influences of Holland! Where the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay *united* Church and State and, in the early days, admitted none but freemen to be church members, Church and State were always separate in Plymouth. And equally important with the idea of civil and religious liberty, which the Pilgrims brought with them from Holland, was their enduring respect for the Golden Rule. So we find the Pilgrims quite without the intolerance and religious bigotry which darken so many pages of Massachusetts Bay history. On this account it may really be said of them that they established at Plymouth "freedom to worship God."

CHAPTER XI

SOME EARLY BOOKS ABOUT PLYMOUTH

IF one could read but a single volume concerning the history of Plymouth, that volume should be Bradford's own book, which tells this simple but thrilling story from the inception of the Colony down to the year 1647. Here we find the foundation on which, supplemented by a few minor authorities, all subsequent narratives of the voyage of the *Mayflower*, all accounts of the previous history of those who sailed in her, and all descriptions of the early years of the colony which they founded are based. The work has been reproduced in various editions (including an edition issued by the State of Massachusetts) ; but next to the original manuscript itself, which may be seen in the State Library, the one of most outstanding interest is the facsimile reproduction from that manuscript for which John Andrew Doyle, a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, has supplied an extremely scholarly and very interesting introduction.

The facts concerning Bradford's early life, as cited by Mr. Doyle in this place, were almost all ascertained by the late Joseph Hunter from an

Of phisical plantation

And first of *f* occasion, and *f* judgments ther-into, the which
that we may truly understand, *f* must begine at *f* very roots, & rise
of *f* same. the which *f* shall evidence so manifest in a plaine
stile; with singular regard unto *f* simple truth in all things,
at least as farre near as my slender *f* judgments can attaine
the same.

1 Chapter.

It is well knowne unto *f* godly, and judicious; how ever since *f*
first breaking out of *f* light of *f* gospel, in our Honourable na-
tion of England, which was *f* first of nations, whom *f* Lord adorn-
ed therewith, after *f* grosse darknes of apostery which had cover-
ed, & overspread *f* Christian world; what wars, & oppositions ever
since, Satan hath raised, maintained, and continued against the
saints, from time to time, in one sorte, or other. Some times by
bloody death & cruell torments; other whiles *f* imprisonments, hard
labours, & other hard *f*lashes; its being loath his kingdom should goe
downe, the truth prevails; and *f* Churches of god reverte to their
anciente puritie; and recover their primitive order, libertie, &
sanctie. But when he could not prevail by these means, against
the maxims & truths of *f* gospel; but that they began to take rooting
in many places, being watered with *f* blood of *f* martires,
and blessed from heaven with a gracious increase. He then be-
gane to take hisn to his ancient *f* stratagemes, first of old against
the first Christians. That when by *f* bloody, & barbarous per-
secutions of *f* Heathen Emperours, he could not stoppe, & subvert
the course of *f* gospel; but that it should be *f*pread, with
a wonderfull celeritie, the then best known parts of *f* world.
He then began to sow errors, heresies, and wondrousfull
disturbances amongst *f* professors them selves (mocking upon their
purity, & ambition, with other corrupt passions, *f* incident to
all mortall men, yea to *f* saints them selves in some measure)
by which woofull effects followed; as not only bitter contentions, &
hardbearnings, schismes, with other horrible confusions. But
Satan took occasion, advantage thereby to *f*oyse in a number
of idle ceremonies, with many unprofitable Canners, & deco-
rations, which have since been as snares, to many poor, & peevish
souls, even to this day. So as in *f* ancient times, the persecutors



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BRADFORD HOUSE, KINGSTON, 1675



Copyright, 1902, A. S. Burbank, Plymouth, Mass.

JOHN ALDEN HOUSE, DUXBURY, 1653

examination of the parish register at Austerfield in England, and were by Mr. Hunter embodied in a monograph entitled, "Collections concerning the early History of the Founders of Port Plymouth", published in London in 1849¹ and now rather rare. These researches make it clear that William Bradford was born in Austerfield in Yorkshire, March 19, 1590, the son of William Bradford, who married Alice Hanson in June, 1584. The elder William died in July, 1591, and though the date when Bradford's mother died is not known, Cotton Mather declares in the "Magnalia" that Bradford was deprived of both his parents when young and left to the care of his grandparents. Mather also tells us that the youth succeeded to a comfortable inheritance in land and would naturally have been brought up to husbandry; but that weak health rather inclined him towards study and religion. On this account, very likely, he fell the more easily under the influence of Richard Clifton's non-conforming congregation, which made its headquarters at Scrooby, three miles from Austerfield. According to Mather, Bradford was one of the group which in 1607 made an attempt to escape to Holland, an attempt which was thwarted by the officers of the law and led to the imprisonment of several of the would-be fugitives, including their chief, Elder Brewster.

The dramatic migration of the following year

¹ The substance of this was also published by the same author in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Fourth Series, vol. I.

has already been pictured. Its chief interest lies, of course, in the fact that it is the initial step in the continuous corporate history of the Pilgrims, who, whether journeying from Scrooby to Amsterdam, from Amsterdam to Leyden, or from Leyden to the shores of America, were all the time attempting to found not simply a church but also what we now know as a New England township, — a place, that is, in which they could work out an experiment in self-government, which should grow and endure throughout the years. "Through their early days of cold and hunger, of toil and discouragement, whether in Amsterdam, in Leyden, or in Plymouth, Brewster, Bradford, and their followers were endeavoring not merely to win an inheritance for themselves and their children, but to lay the foundations of New England."

A striking characteristic of Bradford as a biographer is his omission from the graphic pages of his "History" of all details concerning himself. Thus he makes absolutely no mention of the drowning of his wife, Dorothy Bradford, about three weeks after their arrival in Plymouth. What we know about this and about their one son left in Holland, who afterwards came out to Plymouth, we owe to a register of the first emigrants kept by him and appended to the manuscript.¹

On August 14, 1623, Bradford was again married,

¹ This appendix appears as an appendix in this volume also, under the heading "Who's Who of the *Mayflower* cabin list."

his second wife being the widow of Edward Southworth. The fact that this marriage took place just a fortnight after the lady's arrival in America gives color to the tradition that there had been an early attachment between the pair. All that we actually know about the matter, though, is that the second Mrs. Bradford (born Alice Carpenter) was the mother of two daughters and one son; and that the latter, named William like his father, became in 1682 deputy-governor of the Commonwealth, held that office for five years continuously, and again in 1691, and also served several times as a commissioner for Plymouth in the confederation of the New England colonies. On one of the blank leaves of the priceless Bradford manuscript this son and his son are immortalized in the following paragraph:

"this book was rit by govener William bradford and given to his son mager William Bradford and by him to his son mager John Bradford, rit by me Sanuel bradford — mach 20, 1705."

Besides the "History", we have from Bradford's pen, written the year in which the "History" ends, a work called "A Dialogue or the sum of a Conference Between some young men born in New England and sundry ancient men that came out of Holland and Old England, Anno Domini, 1648." This is a short sketch in defense of the principles and customs of the Puritans, with biographical notices of a few leading Nonconformists, such as Clifton and Robinson. The dialogue form adds

nothing to the charm of the style; rather the reverse. But when Bradford died, he left this writing behind him in manuscript, and it was used and copied into the Plymouth Church Records by his nephew Nathaniel Morton. Alexander Young reprinted it in 1848 in his useful volume. Bradford also left behind him a Letter Book containing copies of letters of public interest which he wrote or which were written to him.¹

A very interesting Bradford letter characterized by Roland G. Usher as "the only original letter of the period which seems to have survived", was written by Bradford to Allerton on September 8, 1623, in regard to conditions in Plymouth. This letter was discovered among a mass of unarranged and uncalendared papers in the Public Record Office in London. It has been reprinted in the *American Historical Review*² and is of particular value in that it reveals the brave showing that Bradford was then making in the face of untoward conditions in Plymouth. The Dutch and the French, it appears, were able to trade much more advantageously with the Indians than the Pilgrims could because they could give them in exchange not "toyes and trifles, but good and sub-

¹ Nothing brings out more clearly the difficulties connected with the preservation of old manuscripts than such a story as goes with the rescue of this Letter Book. Near the close of the eighteenth century James Clark of Boston found the remains of the book in a baker's shop at Halifax, N. S., where three hundred and thirty-eight of its leaves had already been used as wrapping paper. The rescued portion is printed in the First Series, vol. III of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections.

² Vol. 8, p 294.

stantial commodities as ketkles, hatchets, and clothes of all sorts; yea, the French doe store them with biskay, shalopes, fitted both with sails and ores, with which they can either row or saile as well as we; as also with peices, powder and shot for fowling and other services . . . also I know upon my owne knowledg many of the Endeans to be as well furnished with good ketkels, both strong and of a large size, as many farmers in england."

In this same communication Bradford writes: "With these our leters we have sent unto you one of our honest freinds, Edward Winslow by name, who can give you beter and more large Information of the state of all things than we can possiblie doe by our letters; unto whom we refferr you in all partickulars; and also we have given him Instrucktion to treat with you of all such things as consceirn our publick good and mutuall concord; expecting his return by the first fishing shippes." That much money might be made in New England by fishing, Bradford reasserts in this letter; but he also points out that "it would be a principall stay and a comfortable help to the Colonie if they had some catle" and that "espetially goats are very fite for this place, for they will here thrive very well, are a hardly creature, and live at no charge, ether, wenter or sommer, their increas is great and milke very good, and need little looking toe." He ends his plea for cattle with the reiterated statement that "the Colonie will never be in good estate till they have some."

This is the letter in which Bradford categorically corrects the impression that women and children were allowed to vote in Plymouth. Somehow the idea had gone abroad that the franchise privileges were being too liberally exercised, and Bradford says: "Touching our Governemente you are mistaken if you think we admite woemen and children to have to do in the same, for they are excluded, as both reason and nature teacheth they should be; neither doe we admite any but such as are above the age of 21 years, and they also but only in some weighty maters, when we think good." Toward the end of the communication there is a rather pathetic reference to the difficulties of holding things together "amongst men of so many humors and feares of so many kinds." Obviously it was no small job to be Governor of the Plymouth Colony in 1623!

Taken from Plymouth on the *Little James*, this very valuable missive was long lost because the ship in question was seized for debt upon its arrival in England. Nearly every manuscript of the period, indeed, has connected with it a tale of disappearance and recovery almost as long as the piece of writing concerned. That connected with the disappearance of Bradford's "History" is full of romance and must be retold here even at the risk of tiring some readers who already know it well.

The author left the work in manuscript. In 1669, Bradford's nephew, Nathaniel Morton, pub-

lished a chronicle which made it quite plain that there was somewhere in existence a book which Bradford himself had written about the early days in Plymouth. Beside Morton, three other New England historians admitted indebtedness to this book: Thomas Prince, who in 1730 published a chronological history of New England; Hubbard, who left a manuscript history, which was first published in 1815; and Thomas Hutchinson, Governor and historian of Massachusetts, who in an appendix to his second volume, dealing with the affairs of Plymouth, credits copious extracts to what he entitles "Bradford Manuscript."

Yet the manuscript itself was nowhere to be found until it was discovered, almost by accident, through the fact that in 1846 Bishop Wilberforce published a small "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America", which chanced to fall into the hands of Mr. John Barry, then engaged in writing a history of Massachusetts. Mr. Barry was struck by the fact that certain passages cited as from a "Manuscript History of the Plantation of Plymouth &c, in the Fulham Library" were identical with fragments of Bradford's work as he had seen it reproduced by Morton and Prince. The discovery was communicated to the Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Charles S. Deane; the clue was assiduously followed up, and the manuscript in question proved to be no other than Bradford's own autograph of his history. Then for the first time we had accessible

the story of the economic struggles and difficulties which beset the settlers, lacking which we should have been without any rounded conception of Bradford's abilities as an administrator during the very important years when the corporate and organic life of the Colony was in the making.

The original manuscript, strongly bound in vellum, is now preserved in the Library of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, having been brought back to Massachusetts in 1897 through the good offices of the late Senator George Frisbie Hoar of that state with the help of Thomas Francis Bayard, first American Ambassador to Great Britain. It is here examined with great interest by hundreds of visitors to Massachusetts each year.

Another early production, literary in intent if not in actuality, is the book written by Bradford's nephew, to which allusion has already been made. Perhaps the most colorful thing about this volume is the way in which its publication was financed.

The Pilgrims were peculiarly direct in the matter of carrying through any project they planned, and one thing on which they early set their heart was the writing and publishing of a comprehensive and formal history of the first half-century of the settlement of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. So at a Court held in Plymouth on March 5, 1667, it was ordered "that whereas a certain Indian appertaining to

our jurisdiction is now held at Boston for matter of fact, and that there is probability of a tender of some land for his ransome from being sent to the Barbadoes, that in case the said land be tendered to acceptance that it shall be improved and expended for the defraying of the charge of the printing of the book entitled 'New England's Memoriall.'" A little more than a year later Plymouth appropriated "the sume of twenty pounds in countrey pay toward this same expense", recommending at the same time that the several towns under the jurisdiction of the Plymouth General Court make "a free and voluntary contribution in money for and toward the procuring of paper for the printing of said book." At the same time it was provided that arrangements be made with Samuel Green "to print it if he will do it as cheap as the other and for the number of copies to do as he shall see cause." On July 3, 1669, it was ordered "that the Treasurer, in the behalf of the country, is to make good a barrel of merchantable beef to Mr. Green, the printer at Cambridge, which is to satisfy what is behind unpaid for toward the printing of the book called 'New England's Memorial', which barrel of beef is something more than is due by bargain for the court is willing to allow it in consideration of his complaint of a hard bargain about the printing of the book aforesaid."

To the student of New England's history, the book which resulted from these transactions neces-

sarily possesses a unique value as the first published account by a contemporary writer of the men who made Plymouth history from 1620 to 1669, and that, too, written by one who had a personal and official knowledge of the men and measures he described. Moreover, it is in this book that there first appeared in print the names of the vessels the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*, whose history is bound up with the tempestuous voyage of the Pilgrims across the Atlantic.

Although the publication of Bradford's "History" has taken from the "Memoriall" the value which so long attached to it, it still remains of interest because Morton himself came to Plymouth with his father in the *Anne* in July, 1623 (being at that time a boy about eleven years old), and grew up in close and intimate relations with William Bradford. This because Bradford's second wife, Alice Carpenter, was his aunt, his mother's sister. His father was George Morton, commonly accepted as the G. Mourt whose name appears signed to the preface of "Mourt's Relation." This work it is which has preserved for us Bradford and Winslow's "Journal", a diary of events from the arrival of the *Mayflower* to the return of the *Fortune* in December. "Good news from New England" by Edward Winslow, which brings the story down to September 10, 1623, was published in 1624. Next followed Winslow's "Brief Narrative of the true grounds of cause of the first planting of New England", which took

the story through 1623, but which was first printed at London in 1646.

So that at the time of the publication of Nathaniel Morton's book, there was no narrative history of Plymouth Colony of a later date than 1623. To Morton, therefore, fell the task of recording the story of the settlement of New England, the causes which lay behind the immigration to Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, and the development of the colonies during the privations and sufferings of their early years. By personal acquaintance with the official records which he kept for forty years, he knew the minute details of the Pilgrims' lives, and it was evidently thought that he would incorporate a good deal of this into his book. That he did not do so is a great loss. None the less, the work has its value and interest, even in these days when we have the rediscovered Bradford manuscript to draw upon, and no student of early New England should fail to look up the first edition as published in facsimile by The Club of Odd Volumes of Boston. There is inspiration, too, for us of to-day in the closing paragraph of "The Memoriall":

I shall close up this small history with a word of advice to the rising generation, That as now their godly predecessors have had large Experience of the goodness and faithfulness of God, for the space of near Forty six years (some of them) and have passed under various dispensations, sometimes under great afflictions, other while the sun shining upon their Tabernacles in wayes

of peace and prosperity, and yet notwithstanding, through the grace of Christ, the most of them have held their integrity in his wayes. That so, such as succeed them would follow their examples, so farr as they have followed Christ; that it might not be said of them, as it is to be feared it may be, by what yet appears amongst many of them, that indeed God did once plant a noble vine in New England, but it is degenerated into the plant of a strange vine. It were well that it might be said, that the rising generation did serve the Lord all the days of such as in this our Israel, are as Joshua's amongst us and the Elders that over lived him, which have known all the works of the Lord which he hath done for their fathers. But if yet notwithstanding afterwards such shall forget, and not regard those his great Works here presented before them (besides many more that I hope by some others may come to their view) be they assured, He will destroy them and not build them up. Oh therefore, let the truly godly in this land, be incited by the example of Moses, as the mouth of the Church to pray earnestly and incessantly unto the Lord, that his work may yet appear to his servants, and his glory unto their children; and that he would pour out his Spirit upon his Church and people in New England, and his blessing upon their offspring, that they may spring up as among the grass, and as the willows by the water courses; that so great occasion there may be thereby of taking notice thereof in succeeding generations, to the praise and glory of GOD. So be it.

This "Memoriall" is also valuable because it has preserved for us the anagrams and elegiac verses of many old New England worthies. It

is to this source, for instance, that two famous productions of Governor Dudley's pen are to be traced.

Dim eyes, deaf Ears, cold stomach, shew,
 My dissolution is in view,
 Eleven times seven year liv'd have I,
 And now God calls, I willing die;
 My shuttle's shot, my race is run,
 My Sun is set, my Deed is done;
 My span is measur'd, Fate is told,
 My Flower is faded, and grown old,
 My Dream is vanished, Shadow's fled,
 My Soul with Christ, my Body dead.
 Farewell, dear Wife, Children, Friends,
 Hate Heresie, make blessed ends;
 Bear Poverty, live with good men,
 So shall we meet with joy agen.

And the following gem :

Let men of God in Courts and Churches watch
 O're such as do a Toleration hatch,
 Lest that ill Egg bring forth a Cockatrice,
 To poison all with Heresie and Vice,
 If men be left and otherwise combine,
 My Epitaph's, I dy'd no Libertine.

Both these productions, Morton tells us, were found in Governor Dudley's pocket after his death and serve not only to illustrate the great man's character but to give us a taste of his "poetical fancy"!

Another contemporaneous source of information

which is not without value, though it is pretty dull reading, is "Plain Dealing or News from New England" from the pen of Thomas Lechford. Lechford was an English lawyer who lived for some years in Boston, and who also visited for a period in Plymouth. He devotes a chapter of his book to the Indians and has left us some valuable pages of critical insight concerning the unfairness of the strictures directed against the Plymouth men for their lack of church conformity.

When John Smith cruised along the coast of England in 1614, he made some observations which led to the earliest fairly accurate map of Massachusetts Bay; and four years later he published the first edition of his record of commercial adventures in the new world under the title "New England Trials", meaning by that word "ventures." Another product of Smith's pen is his "General History", which collectors of *Americana* are always extremely interested to secure. Similarly interesting to those who are keen in the pursuit of early books on old New England are the records contained in the conglomerate work of Samuel Purchas issued in 1625 — under the title of "Purchas's Pilgrims"—in which over twelve hundred separate narrators of the world's explorations tell their own stories, including such as had a story to tell about observations along the New England coast. This material may be seen at the Boston Athenæum, though Purchas's works are extremely rare.

Another contemporaneous writer who cannot be

ignored is Thomas Morton, lawyer and vagabond — wont to describe himself as “of Clifford’s Inne, Gent” — who has given us in “The New English Canaan” what is probably the most curious and amusing book extant in regard to life in early New England. Morton was a very active thorn in the side of Governor Bradford and the other leading men at Plymouth. The earliest allusion I have found to him is in the second book of Bradford’s “History” when, dealing with the events of the year 1628 — though writing at a later period — the leading chronicler of Massachusetts says:

About some three or four years before this time, there came over one Captaine Wolastone (a man of pretie parts), and with him three or four more of some Eminencie, who brought with them a great many servants, with provisions and other implements for to begine a plantation; and pitched themselves in a place within the Massachusetts, which they called after their captain’s name, Mount-Wollaston. Amongst whom was one Mr. Morton, who it should seeme, had some small adventure (of his owne or other mens) amongst them; but had little respect amongst them, and was sleighted by the meanest servants. . . . But this Morton above said, haveing more craft than honestie, watches an opportunitie (commons being but hard amongst them), and got some strong drinck and other junckats & made him a feast.

The place alluded to in this somewhat confusing paragraph is what is now known as Quincy; the men whom Morton feasted as a means of taking

possession of the plantation were the servants whom Wollaston had left behind when he sailed off, after a discouraging year of New England pioneering, to try his fortune in Virginia; and the deputy from whom Morton wrenched all vestiges of law-abiding authority in the plantation was Lieutenant Fitcher. Bradford's quaint version has it that these wicked conspirators "thrust Levetenante Fitcher out a dores." In any case when the lieutenant had decamped, the Lord of Misrule took possession of Merrymount, as Mount Wollaston was now renamed, to the utter scandal, of course, of the sober Pilgrims.

Much has been written in abuse of Morton; much, too, in his defense. John Adams, discussing him in 1802, put the matter thus :

Such a rake as Morton, such an addle-headed fellow as he represents himself to be, could not be cordial with the first people from Leyden or with those who came over with the patent from London or the West of England. I can hardly conceive that his being a Churchman or reading his prayers from a Book of Common Prayer could be any great offence. His fun, his songs, and his revels were provoking enough, no doubt. But his Commerce with the Indians in arms and ammunition and his instructions to those Savages in the use of them were serious and dangerous offences, which struck at the lives of the new-comers and threatened the utter extirpation of all the plantations.

In order to understand this allusion of Adams to the Book of Common Prayer, it must be said

here that there has been a tendency on the part of historians to attribute the strictures which have been made on Morton's character to the fact that he was — or pretended to be — an Episcopalian. The people who defend him are all Episcopalians! The truth of the matter is, however, that Morton used his connection with the Church of England as a blind and almost certainly wrote his book "The New Canaan" as a piece of what we would call in these days "propaganda." On this account we must carefully discount whatever statements we find in the book criticizing the habits and customs of the people at Plymouth. A tool of Sir Ferdinando Gorges (who was himself utterly dependent upon Archbishop Laud for advancement), it was Morton's cue to play up in his book the Primate's intense dislike of the Puritans and Separatists, and his inordinate zeal in behalf of all Church forms and ceremonies, including the use of the Book of Common Prayer. The whole political and historical significance of the "New Canaan" lies in this fact. One chapter in it, as we shall see, was especially written to bring trouble upon the Pilgrims by maintaining that they held it to be the "magistrate's office absolutely, and not the minister's, to join the people in lawful matrimony"; next, "that to make use of a ring in marriage is a relic of Popery"; and then again, "the Book of Common Prayer is an idol; and all that use it idolaters." We shall see how cunningly, when it came to questions of State, Laud was

worked on by these assertions, and what a puppet he became in the hands of Gorges and Morton.

There is much more to "The New English Canaan", however, than a quarrel between Laud and the Separatists. It is an immensely entertaining version of life in one little section of New England during this far-away period with which we are now dealing, — a version so entertaining that I, for one, am rather inclined to forgive Morton his personal sins out of gratitude for the manuscript in which those sins were recorded. Besides, he may well be held to have expiated his offenses when, his property having been destroyed, he was imprisoned through a bitter New England winter in the fireless dungeon of a Boston jail. Surely a sad experience this, for one who had been wont to describe himself as "of Clifford's Inne, gent."

Morton was one of a class of men quite common in the days of Elizabeth and the Stuarts; a vulgar Royalist and libertine, who, just because he was thrown by accident into the midst of a nonconforming community, and was unable or unwilling to accept the situation and take himself off, has attained, as Charles Francis Adams, Junior, very well says, a prominence which will necessitate his mention in every history of America. None the less, he was a true nature lover, and he really fell deeply in love with New England, when she first bared her fresh spring beauty to him in June, 1622. The book in which he records his enthusiasm for

the New World and his determination to make a fortune there was written before the close of 1635 and was first printed in 1637. Until the Prince Society made its famous reprint which Mr. Adams has so ably edited, it was reprinted but once, — by Force, in the second volume of his American tracts. The Prince Society's edition reproduces the original title-page and tells us that the work was "composed in three bookes." It goes on to say that the first book sets forth the manners and customs and the "originall" of the natives (meaning their origin), together with their practical nature and their love for the English. The second book is what we should to-day call a descriptive pamphlet of the endowments and staple commodities of the country. The third book (written for Archbishop Laud's special delectation) describes the people of the country, their prosperity, various incidents that had befallen them "together with their Tenents and practise of their Church." We are told that the work was "written by Thomas Morton of Clifford's Inne gent., upon tenne yeares knowledge and experiment of the country"; and that it was printed at Amsterdam "by Jacob Frederick Stam. in the yeare 1637."

Copies of "The New Canaan" are extremely rare. The Prince Society edition was made from a copy owned by John Quincy Adams, who purchased it while in Europe prior to the year 1801. It was this same copy, temporarily deposited in

the Boston Athenæum in 1810, to which various students have alluded in their work. The quotations I shall give follow the Prince Society edition, except that no consistent effort has been made to adhere to the old-fashioned typography, which for the most part is too difficult for the ordinary printer to reproduce.

In almost all the historical allusions to Morton and to Merrymount, the thing stressed is the May Day festivity of 1627, of which Bradford has written: "They allso set up a May-pole, drinking and dancing aboute it many days togeather, inviting the Indean women, for their comforts, dancing and frisking together, like so many fairies, (or furies rather), and worse practises. As if they had anew revived and celebrated the feasts of the Roman Goddes Flora, or the beasly practises of the madd Bacchinalians. Morton likewise (to shew his poetrie), composed sundry rimes and verses, some tending to lasciviousnes, and others to the detraction and scandall of some persons, which he affixed to this idle or idoll May-polle."

Morton's own account of this same occurrence will be given a few pages farther on. The point now to be made is that the Maypole celebration, while undoubtedly associated in the minds of Governor Bradford and his followers with the pagan days of the Saturnalia¹ and, therefore, to be condemned, was not in the last analysis the

¹ It was this festivity, as England celebrated it, that Stubbs rebuked so roundly in his "Anatomy of Abuses."

worst thing which Morton did. The really unforgivable sin to be charged against him is that, to advance his own ends, he unscrupulously sold the natives not only strong drink but weapons. And he taught them to use those weapons effectively.

Trade with the Indians in firearms had been strictly forbidden in 1622 by a proclamation of King James issued at the instance of the Council of New England. By putting arms into their hands and instructing them how to use them, Morton not only broke the law, but he also made life quite unsafe for everybody in the Colony.

After the first skirmish with the Cape Cod savages in December, 1620, we find no mention of a gun being seen in an Indian's hands. As a matter of fact the Indians stood in mortal terror of firearms. Morton was to change all this. Bradford comments :

This Morton having thus taught them the use of pieces, he sold them all he could spare ; and he and his consorts determined to send for many out of England, and had by some of the ships sent for above a score. The which being known, and his neighbors meeting the Indians in the woods armed with guns in this sort, there was a terror under them, who lived stragglingly and were of no strength in any place. And other places (though more remote) saw this mischief would quickly spread over all if not prevented. Besides, they saw they should keep no servants, for Morton would entertain any, how vile so ever, and all the scum of the country or any discontents would flock to him from all places if this next was not broken ; and they would

stand in more fear of their lives and goods (in short time) from this wicked and debauched crew than from the Savages themselves.

Not only was Morton threatening the lives of the Pilgrims by putting arms in the hands of the natives; he was also taking an unfair business advantage. If the savages could exchange their furs for guns, they would not exchange them for anything else, and Morton was utterly unscrupulous in this as in other matters. He had come to New England to get rich by means of the fur trade, and he meant to accomplish his end. To quote Bradford again :

Hearing what gain the French and fishermen made by trading with pieces, powder and shot to the Indians, he as head of this consortship began the practice of the same in these parts. And first he taught them how to use them, to charge and discharge, and what proportion of powder to give the piece, according to the size and bigness of the same; and what shot to use for fowl and what for deer. And having thus instructed them, he employed some of them to hunt and fowl for him, so as they became far more active in that employment than any of the English, by reason of their swiftness of foot and nimbleness of body; being also quick-sighted, and by continual exercise, well knowing the haunts of all sorts of game. So when they saw the execution that a piece would do, and the benefit that might come by the same, they became mad, as it were, after them, and would not stick to give any price they could obtain to for them; accounting their bows and arrows but bawbles in comparison of them.

Such is Bradford's version of this matter; and Morton nowhere denies the story, though it is obvious that he would have denied it could he have done so. That he sold the savages spirits he does deny. These he said were the life of trade; the Indians would "pawn their wits" for them; but spirits he would never let them have, according to his own account. For this "never" one must substitute a Gilbertian "hardly ever" in the interest of exactness, — just as Morton himself does in Chapter Nineteen of the first book of "The New English Canaan." "In al the Commerce that I had with them, I never profered them any such thing; nay I would hardly let any of them have a drane unles hee were a Sachem or a Wannaytuy, that is a rich man, or a man of estimation next in degree to a Sachem or Sagamore. I alwayes tould them it was amongst us the Sachems drinke. But they say if I come to the Northerne parts of the Country I shall have no trade, if I will not supply them with lusty liquors; it is the life of the trade in all those parts."

Here inadvertently Morton seems to have told the exact truth. Dodge in his "Wild Indians" declares that "this passion for intoxication amounts almost to an insanity . . . to drink liquor as a beverage for the gratification of taste or for the sake of pleasurable conviviality is some thing of which the Indian can form no conception. His idea of pleasure in the use of strong drink is to get drunk, and the quicker

and more complete that effect, the better he likes it."

So between liquor and powder Morton was in a fair way to drive all competitors from the market. He himself says that in the course of five years one of his servants accumulated no less than a thousand pounds in the trade of beaver skins; and this in 1635 meant a great deal of money, even allowing for the undoubted exaggeration of the statement. Small wonder that, as Morton expresses it, his plantation "beganne to come forward." In fact it came forward so fast that it always got the better in commercial enterprise of the Plymouth people. They were the first to find their way up to Maine, where in 1625 they began to trade with the savages. But Morton was not slow in following them and when, in 1628, they went out to establish a permanent station on the Kennebec, Morton had forestalled them by some time and so hindered them of a season's furs.

Yet this Lord of Misrule's most abiding offense was against decency and good government, and it gradually became apparent to all dwelling along the coast on the borders of Maine and Cape Cod that Merry Mount was a nuisance which would have to be suppressed. If the Plymouth magistrates refrained from this suppression, all order in New England would be at an end.

So they mutually resolved to proceed, Bradford writes, and obtained of the Governor of Plymouth to send Captain Standish and some other aide with him

to take Morton by force. Which accordingly was done; but they found him to stand stiffly in his defense, having made fast his doors, armed his consorts, set diverse dishes of powder and bullets ready on the table; and if they had not been over-armed with drink, more hurt might have been done. They summoned him to yield, but he kept his house, and they could get nothing but scoffs and scorns from him; but at length, fearing they would do some violence to the house, he and some of his crew came out, but not to yield but to shoot. But they were so steeled with drink as their pieces were too heavy for them; himself, with a carbine (over-charged and almost half-filled with powder and shot as was after found) had thought to have shot Captain Standish; but he stepped to him and put by his piece and took him. Neither was there any hurt done to any of either side, save that one was so drunk that he ran his own nose upon the point of a sword that one held before him as he entered the house; but he lost but a little of his hot blood.

Morton's own account of this we shall read later. In essentials it is not different from Bradford's, except that Morton makes himself the hero of the tale and satirizes Standish under the name of Captain Shrimpe.

Seeing that resistance to Standish was hopeless, Morton surrendered, was arrested, and was carried to Plymouth, where a council was held to decide upon the disposition that should be made of him. According to the prisoner's own account, certain of the magistrates were in favor of executing him at once and so making an end of the matter, but

cooler judgment prevailed, and eventually the decision was that the prisoner should be sent back to England, which was done, on the vessel which sailed a month later from the Isles of Shoals. John Oldham, who had himself made not a little trouble for the Plymouth Colony, but who now had been reinstated, was given the charge of the prisoner and was commissioned also to deliver some letters describing Morton's offenses; but these letters made no impression in England, because Morton was clever enough to represent himself to Sir Ferdinando Gorges (who himself had a game to play in the New World) as a victim of religious persecution.

Oldham's treachery and Morton's trickery gave Plymouth a great deal of trouble in England at this juncture. To the astonishment and horror of Bradford, the Lord of Misrule not only went scot free in England, but was allowed to return to America! He even was brought back to Plymouth itself "as it were to nose them" — to quote Bradford's pregnant phrase — and was lodged by Isaac Allerton, then agent of the Plymouth Colony, in his own house as a clerk and scribe. When, after a few weeks' stay, Allerton returned to England, his scribe promptly made his way back to Mount Wollaston, there soon to be involved in fresh difficulties with Governor Endicott of the Salem Colony. His subsequent experiences fall outside the scope of our present interest and are chiefly of concern to students of Plymouth history

for the reason that the punishment promptly inflicted on Morton by the Puritan magistrates was so much more severe than that meted out to him by the Pilgrims.

The Bay authorities ordered that Thomas Morton, of Mount Wollaston, "shall presently be set into the bilboes, and after sent prisoner into England, by the ship called the *Gift*, now returning thither; that all his goods shall be seized upon to defray the charge of his transportation, payment of his debts, and to give satisfaction to the Indians for a canoe he unjustly took away from them; and that his house, after his goods are taken out, shall be burnt down to the ground in the sight of the Indians, for their satisfaction, for many wrongs he hath done them from time to time." The Puritans had almost a genius for making the punishment fit the crime.

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CHAPTER XII

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE PILGRIM COLONY

FROM all that we have read heretofore concerning the Pilgrims' life in Old New England, one would have said that they had no diversions, — nothing that we in these days would call social life. Yet a closer view establishes the certainty that there were sports; occasionally indeed outbreaks of what even we should term real frivolity. Who would have thought, for instance, of the Pilgrims as masquerading, yet the enactment, in 1645, of a law passed to punish masquerading proves that "some abuse hath formerly broken out amongst us by disguising, wearing visors and a strange apparel." Punishment was therefore enacted in the form of a fine of fifty shillings for "first default; for the second a public whipping or binding to good behaviour at the discretion of the Court."

Card playing it was found necessary (in 1655) to punish by a fine of fifty shillings, servants or children playing at cards, dice, or other unlawful games, to be at the second offense publicly whipped. For the first offense correction by their

parents or masters was deemed sufficient. By June, 1674, a law against horse-racing found its way to the Statute books, the punishment provided being the stocks or a fine of five shillings. Smoking tobacco in "public places" was prohibited in 1646; and in 1665 constables were ordered to return the names of those who should play or sleep or smoke tobacco about the meeting-house on the Lord's Day. That same year persons "who behaved themselves profanely by being without doors at the meetinghouse on the Lord's Day in times of exercise, and there misdemeaning themselves by jestings, sleepings, or the like, were to be admonished by the constables; if they persisted, they were to be set in stocks", and if still unreclaimed, their names were to be returned to the Courts. Special enactments then as now were necessary to keep the "licensed taverners" within proper bounds. In 1668 they were forbidden "to allow profane singing, dancing, or revelling under penalty."

One very interesting law which has a close relation to the social life of the time was that of 1660, in which it was enacted "that any person of the years of discretion" (sixteen) "who shall wilfully make or publish any lie which may be injurious to the public weal, or done to the damage or hurt of any particular person, or with intent to deceive or confuse the people with any false news or reports" shall be fined ten shillings, "and in default of payment set in the stocks." If such a law

existed to-day we might be edified by seeing many of the prosperous publishers of yellow newspapers displayed in the stocks in Union Square or Boston Common !

How rigorously the Pilgrims strove to impose the moral law we have seen in a previous chapter. Invariably they punished offenses of this nature with almost brutal severity. Dorothy Temple was publicly whipped until she fainted under the lash, and men who had done violence to the honor of women were more than once publicly whipped, even when they had married the women concerned. The wife, meanwhile, sat near by in the stocks. Little family altercations were dealt with in similarly drastic fashion. It was provided that no man should strike his wife and no woman should beat her husband under the penalty of a fine of ten pounds. The iron hand of the Pilgrim Fathers even intervened in so delicate a matter as courtship. A law was passed in 1638 that no man should propose to a girl unless he had previously secured the consent of her parents, or of her master in case she was a bond servant. And there was very evident desire to prevent ambitious young men from changing their social status by marriage.

To be sure the young gentleman sometimes persisted and won out against a hard-hearted father. A case of this kind, which has come down to us, is that of Arthur Howland, Junior, who finding the daughter of Governor Prentice not averse

to his attentions, apparently asked her to marry him, — instead of asking her father if he might ask her. We therefore read in the Records of October, 1666, that :

Arthur Howland, Jun'r, for inveigling of Mistris Elizabeth Prence and makeing motion of marriage to her and prosecuting the same contrary to her parrents likeing, and without their consent, and directly contrary to theire mind and will, was centanced to pay a fine of five pounds and to find surties for his good behavior, and in speciall that hee desist from the vse of any meanes to obtaine or retaine her affections as aforsaid.

The condition, that whereas the said Arthur Howland hath disorderly and unrighteously indeavored to obtaine the affections of Mistris Elizabeth Prence, against the mind and will of her parents, if, therefore, the said Arthur Howland shall for the future refraine and desist from the vse of any meanes to obtaine or retaine her affections as aforesaid, and appeer att the Court of his matie to be holden att Plymouth the first Tuesday in July next, and in the mean time be of good behaviour towards our sov lord the King and all his leich people, and not depart the said Court without lycence; that then, &c.

Later on we find a record that

Arthur Howland, Junr, did solemnly and seriously engage before this Court that he will wholly desist and never apply himselfe for the future, as formerly hee hath done, to Mistris Elizabeth Prence in reference unto marriage.

None the less, since Arthur Howland subsequently married this girl of his choice it would appear that the stern parent ultimately relented, and the Court winked at the youth's effrontery. Arthur must have been a brave young man, too, so to defy his father-in-law elect, for contemporary writers describe Governor Prence as possessed of "a countenance full of majesty."

The Pilgrims not only sought to guide people in their choice of mates; they attempted the far more difficult task of making people who *were* married love each other. So we read :

In reference unto divers complaints made concerning John Williams, Jun'r, his disorderly liveing with his wife, and his abusive and harsh carriages towards her both in words and actions, . . . the Court saw cause to require bonds for the appeerance of the said Williams att this psent Court, and likewise sent for his wife to this Court, and after the hearing of severall things to and frow betwixt them, the said Williams being not able to make out his charge against her, they were both admonished *to apply themselves to such waies as might make for the recovering of peace and love betwixt them; and for that end the Court requested Isacke Bucke to bee officious therein.*

One wonders how Isacke succeeded in his difficult task, — and how he set about it.

Nothing is more clear from the Plymouth records than that the paucity of amusements threw men and women back on their emotions in a most unwholesome way. The sexual crimes and

family troubles therein set down seem to be out of all proportion to the population. One quite sympathizes on this account with the strenuous efforts made by the Inhabitants and the Unprivileged of the Colony, especially the servants, to introduce such amusements as they had been accustomed to in England. Sometimes they succeeded in this ambition. Out-of-door games like bowls and pitch bar seemed to have been commonly played, and at the inns a certain amount of regulated drinking was undoubtedly permitted. To be sure, people must drink for "refreshing" and not to beastiality. And the conditions under which an innkeeper could dispense his wares were strictly regulated. When strangers first arrived he might sell them strong water to the extent of twopence worth; apparently this was regarded as a proper amount for "refreshing" only. Moreover, the uplifting influence of woman had its place in the scheme of innkeeping, as the Plymouth authorities saw it. When James Leonard of Taunton lost his wife by death he was straightway deprived of his license on the ground that he was now unfitted to keep an inn.

So though the upper ranks of society had nothing more exciting in the way of amusement than evenings in their own homes, devoted to talk more or less religious in character, the common folks enjoyed themselves after a fashion in spite of repressive laws.

The things the Pilgrims wore as they pursued

their daily lives and went to church on Sunday might be very interesting to discuss if we knew a little more about it. But we have absolutely no made-in-New England pictures of the men who founded this Colony, and so have few means of knowing in what manner they clothed themselves. The only authentic portrait of a Pilgrim Father which has come down to us is that of Edward Winslow; and this was painted in London in 1651 when he was in middle life, and had been away from Plymouth for five years.¹

Probably the men among the Pilgrims wore simple smocks and trousers made of coarse, strong cloth, the women clothing themselves in plainly cut gowns of ample proportions. One would have expected both men and women to avoid bright colors, yet from the wills it is clear that the men occasionally had coats that were neither black nor gray, and that the women were happily possessed of petticoats of alluring hues, of lace scarfs, of silk garters, and of various other things which we might regard as articles of luxury.

The Dignitaries of the church wore black gowns on Sunday, following the habit of the leaders in the Calvinist churches abroad; but Elder Brewster's wardrobe rejoiced in a violet-colored cloth coat, a pair of black silk stockings, a doublet, and other garments of the kind that a fairly well-to-do

¹ Winslow was sent to England in 1646 on a mission for the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and he was still in the mother country serving on a commission with Admiral Venable and Admiral Penn, father of the noted Quaker, when in May, 1655, he died of fever.



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ELIZABETH PADDY WENSLEY

Born in Plymouth in 1641, the daughter of William Paddy, she married John Wensley, also of Plymouth. This portrait is in Pilgrim Hall.



MADAME PADISHAL AND CHILD

This fine presentation of the dress of a gentlewoman and infant child in the middle of the 17th century hung for many years in old Plymouth homes. It is now owned by Mrs. Greely Stevenson Curtis of Boston to whom it came by inheritance. The artist is unknown.

Englishman might have worn in the mother country at this time. Even where people were obviously only poor folk, if one may judge from the valuation put on their estate, they had cherished articles of personal property to bestow on their friends and relatives. One poor man died in 1633 possessed of a "satten sute", two ruffs of embroidered silk garter, and a "cap with silver lace on it."¹ Another whose estate boasted only three quarters of a cow, left behind him (in 1633) a feather bed bolster, blankets, a green rug, sheets, table cloths, napkins, "pillow beeres", cushions, a chair bed, and sundry pots and kettles to the value of £71.²

When Mary Ring died in 1633 she left a will which shows that quite an elaborate outfit of "handkerchers buttoned and unbuttoned", beaver fur of considerable value, numerous blankets and bolsters and several pieces of brass and pewter had been hers. This will is interesting enough to give in its entirety for the flood of light that it throws on the life of the time.

WYNSLOW GOVr.

New Plymouth

1633.

A Coppy of the will & Test of Mary Ring widow who dyed the 15th or 19th of July 1631. the will being proved in publick Court the 28th of Oct. in the ninth yeare of the raigne of our Sov. Lord Charles & c.

¹ *Mayflower Descendant*, 1, 83.

² *Ibid.* 1, 157.

I Mary Ring being sick in body but in perfect memory thanks be to God, doe make this my last will & Test. in manner & forme as followeth. ffirst I bequeath my sowl to God that gave it me & my body to the earth from whence it was taken. Next my will is that such goods as God hath given I give also. I give unto Andrew my sonne all my brasse and pewter. I give unto my son Andrew my new bed and bolster wth the ffether [*worn*] to put in it wch I have ready Item I give to my son andrew two white blankets, one red blanket wth the best Coverlet wch lieth upon my bed & the curtaines It. I give unto my sonne Andrew three pre of my best sheets & two paire of my best pillow beeres. It. I give also to him one dyapr table-cloath & one dyapr towell and halfe a dozen of napkins. It. I give unto him all my wollen cloath unmade except one peece of red wch my will is that my daughter Susan shall have as much as will make a bearing Cloath and the remainder I give unto Stephen Deanes childe It. I give unto my sonne Andrew my bolster next the best. It. I give unto him my trunke & my box & my Cubbert. It. I give unto him all my cattle. It. I give unto him halfe the Corne wch groweth in the yard where I dwell, And the othr halfe I give unto Stephen Deane my [*illegible*] to make him a Cloake. Timber yt I lent to mr Wynslow that Cost me a pownd of Beaver, besise a peece more that they had of me. I give to my son Andrew all my shares of land that is due to me or shall be. I give to my sonne Andrew all my tooles. It. The money that is due to me from the Governour forty shillings of Comodities I am to have out of England [*worn*] I give unto him also except the green Say wch

I give unto Stephen Deanes childe to make her a Coat. It. one peece of new linen I give unto my sonne Andrew. It. I give unto my daughter Susan Clarke my bed I lay upon wth my gray Coverlet and the teeks of the two pillows: but the ffethers I give unto my sonne Andrew. It. One Ruffe I had of Goodman Giles I give to my daughter Eliza Deane. All the rest of my things not menconed I give unto my daughters to be equally devided between them. I give unto my son Andrew all my bookes my two pr of potthooks & my trammell, one cowlse sheet to put his bed in, & all the money that is due to me from Goodman Gyles. And my will is that he shall have the peece of black stuff. The goods I give my two daughters are all my wearing cloathes, all my wearing linnen. It. I give unto mrs Warren one wooden cupp wth a foote as a tojen of my love. It. my will is that the Cattle I give my sonne be kept to halfes for him by Stephen Deane, or at the discretion of my Overseers to take order for them for the good of the childe. It. I give to Andrew my sonne all my handkerchers buttoned or unbuttoned. It. I give to Andrew one silver whissell It. my will is that Andrew my son be left wth my son stephen Deane; And doe require of my son Deane to help him forward in the knowledge & feare of God, not to oppresse him by any burthens to tender him as he will answere to God. My Overseers of my will I institute & make my loving firriends Samuell fuller & Thomas Blossom. whom I entreate to see this my will pformed according to the true intent of the same. And my will is that my son Andrew have recourse unto these two my loving friends for counsell & advice & to be ruled by them in anything they shall see good & convenient

for him. Also my will & desire is that my Overseers see that those goods wch I have given unto my sonne Andrew be carefully preserved for him, until such time as they shall judge it meet to put them into his own hands. My will also is that if my Overseers shall see it meet to dispose of my sonne Andrew otherwise then wth his Brother Deane That then my Sonne Deane shall be willing to consent unto it, & they to dispose of him, provided it be alwaies wth the good will of my sonne Andrew. I give unto Andrew a linnen Capp wch was his ffathers, buttons for his handkercher unbuttoned I leave for him. My will is that Andrew my sonne shall pay all my debts & chargs about my buriall. In witnes whereof I set my hand before witnes

Witnesses

Mary Ring

Samuell fuller

Thomas Blossom ;

The inventory made after Mrs. Ring's death contains a reference, also, to "one mingled coloured petticoate", whatever so seemingly worldly a garment as that might be. But as if to take the curse off this proof of frivolity, she died possessed of the following highly orthodox books :

One Bible,

" dod,

" plea for Infants,

" ruine of Rome,

" Troubler of the Church of Amsterdam,

" Garland of vertuous dames

" psalme booke

Though the houses in which the Pilgrims lived — and died on “ffether” beds — were very simple and substantial, they were by no means uncomfortable for their time; and they were not cramped. At first they were constructed of hewn plank, but after 1628 plank roofs replaced roofs of thatch. The house of Miles Standish’s son, which is still standing in Duxbury in a good state of preservation, would make a comfortable home even to-day. And the John Bradford house in Kingston, also well preserved at the present time, proves clearly that by the second or third generation at any rate the Plymouth folk were occasionally building on a generous not to say luxurious scale. Both these places show, too, that the Pilgrims knew how to choose a *site* for a home. At first the chimneys were of sticks, plastered with clay, but these, proving inflammable, were forbidden. Later chimneys were probably of rough stone laid in clay, as the majority of New England chimneys remain to the present time.

Notwithstanding the impressive number of heavy pieces of cabinetwork believed to have come over in the *Mayflower*, it is probable that most of the early furniture was made by carpenters in Plymouth. Table implements were chiefly of pewter; though that there were some silver bowls and occasional silver spoons the Plymouth wills show beyond a doubt. Forks the seventeenth century managed quite well without.

The things served in their pewter dishes and wooden bowls did not make the Pilgrims altogether happy: corn bread instead of wheat bread; fish instead of beef, mutton, and veal. In 1630 milk, butter, and cheese could be had; and such garden staples as beans and pumpkins, squash, turnips, parsnips, peas, and onions were available in abundance. But the things we now associate chiefly with Cape Cod — oysters, clams, lobsters, and cranberries — the Pilgrims either distinctly disliked or did not know at all. (With cranberries they had nothing to do in the early days.) To tea, coffee, and cocoa we find no allusions in Plymouth while it remained a separate colony; and pie, which to most people is now synonymous with New England, was unknown as a dessert in the seventeenth century. (Nor was it served for breakfast.)

Hasty pudding, on the other hand — made of corn meal boiled in water or milk — was the almost universal breakfast dish, and there is reason to believe that beans baked with pork and succotash early became popular with the Pilgrim Fathers. So though most of us who visit Plymouth to-day resort piously to the restaurant near Pilgrim Hall and — while a King Charles spaniel sports appropriately around our heels — partake of lobsters, clams, and several varieties of fish, out of deference, as we think, to the early Fathers, those bent on doing the really proper thing ought instead to eat a huge dish of succotash made more or less

as follows:¹ "Boil two fowls in a large kettle of water. At the same time boil in another kettle an half pound of lean pork and two quarts of common white beans, until like soup. When the fowls are boiled, skim off the fat and add a small piece of corned beef, one half of a turnip sliced and cut small, and five or six potatoes sliced thin. When cooked tender, take out the fowls and keep them in the oven with the pork. The soup of beans and pork should be added to the water the fowls were cooked in. Add salt and pepper. Four quart of hulled corn having been boiled soft are added to the soup. Before serving, add the meat of one fowl. The second fowl should be served separately, as also the corned beef and pork."

The simple meals of the Pilgrims, with succotash frequently figuring as *pièce de resistance*, were served at an oaken table which usually shared with a large chest the honors of the living room. At the big fireplace in this room most of the cooking was done. The old inventories and the contemporary manuscripts establish the presence, even in the early days, of fairly complete outfits of cooking utensils in each home: iron spits for roasting meat, iron kettles for boiling vegetables and Dutch ovens for baking bread. A goodly array of wooden platters (trenchers), of pewter utensils, of trays, bowls and bottles (though glass

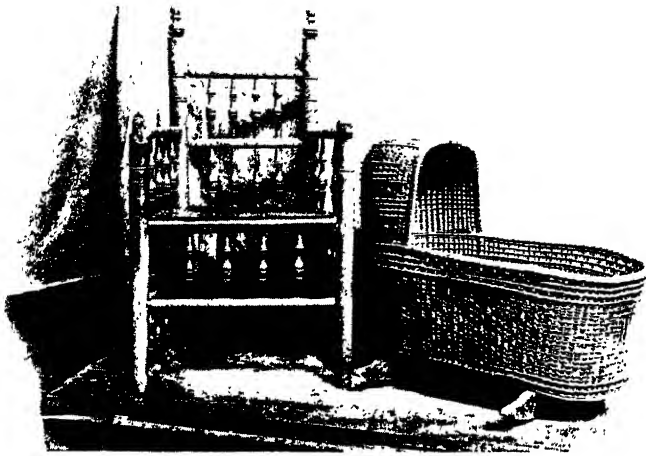
¹ Albert Mathews: Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings, Vol. III, p. 389.

in any form was not common) are also displayed in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, adorned with presumably authentic labels.

In the way of household furniture there were broad-bottomed, roomy armchairs — very straight as to back — for the grown-ups, wooden benches or settles for the young folks and servants, and crickets for the children. The Pilgrims slept in high-posted bedsteads and the babies in odd little cradles. For a time oiled paper at the windows let the light in by day and for many years pitch-pine knots supplied the only light after darkness fell. Talking more than reading must have occupied the Pilgrims in the evening.

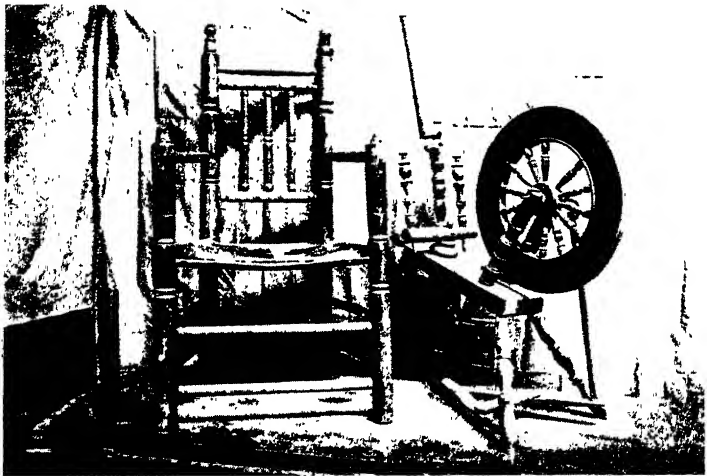
Yet they had books. Brewster left no fewer than four hundred separate books when he died, and from the published list of them, we find that, though they were preponderantly theological in character, as might have been expected, they contained as well twenty-four books of history, six of philosophy, and fourteen poetical in their nature. Moreover, no less than sixty-two volumes in this old New England library were in Latin!

Governor Bradford's inventory shows that he possessed at the time of his death twelve chairs, three carpets, part of an armor, seventeen sheets, seventy-nine napkins, ninety-odd pounds of pewter, seven porringers, four dozen trenchers, a cloth cloak, clothing including two suits with silver buttons, thirteen silver spoons, two silver beer bowls, two silver wine cups, and a case of six



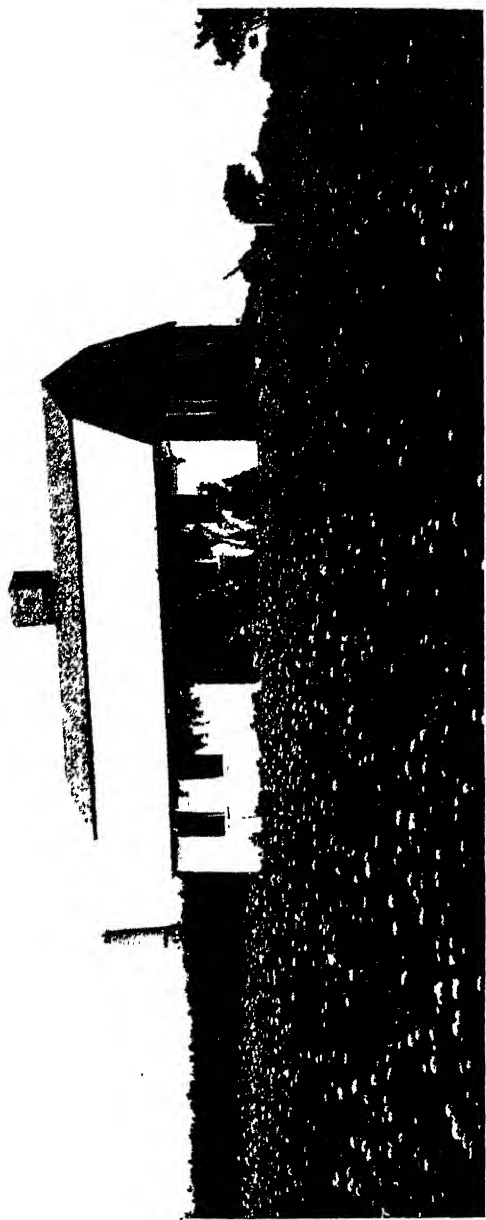
**ELDER BREWSTER'S CHAIR AND THE CRADLE OF PEREGRINE WHITE,
THE FIRST PILGRIM BABY**

These relics of early New England housekeeping are now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.



**THE CHAIR OF PLYMOUTH'S FIRST GOVERNOR, AND AN ANCIENT
SPINNING WHEEL**

From the originals in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.



HOUSE ON CAPTAIN'S HILL, DUXBURY

Built in 1669 by the son of Miles Standish, and still in use.

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knives. To be sure, these are only a few of his possessions, and they have been named for the light they throw on the personal life of the Governor and on the habits and customs of the Plymouth Colony. The value of the entire inventory was one thousand and five pounds and two shillings. But no buckles, carriage, looking-glass, forks, or china were found among the articles possessed by William Bradford when he passed away in May, 1657. Nor did he own a watch, it would appear.

The funeral charges or listed debts of lonely old women in the colony are often quite pathetic in their simplicity. When Grandmother Hurst ¹ died, for instance, the charges against her estate were as follows :

	l.	s.	d.
To ye finding of her Corne for six yere at 20tie shilling p ye yeare is	6	00	00
To six Hoggs in five yeares at 20 shillings pr Hogg is,	5	00	00
To ye wintering of a cow 5 yeare at 16 s p ye yeare	4	00	00
To ye finding of her wood 5 yeare at 30tie shilling p yeare is	7	10	00
To 5 yeares washing, Dressing off Dyet & other trouble: at 20tie shillings p ye yeare is	5	00	00
Other small things I doe not recon June 26, -1688			
June 1670 since 1665 Disbursed cloth for two shifts	00	14	00

¹ Poole: "Book of Old Plymouth Wills."

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3 pair of shoues	00-10-00
Wintering one cow two yeare	01-10-00
Wintering one calf one yeare	00-10-00
Cloth for one peticoat	00-09-00
1 yeare & $\frac{1}{2}$ diet and tendance	08-00-00
Some total is ye some off:	39-03-00

How eloquently this list pictures the lonely last days of an ancient dame of Plymouth, cared for by kind, but by no means overindulgent hands, as the flame of her life expired on the bleak New England coast.

No aspect of social life is more important than schools, and nothing in the history of Plymouth is more extraordinary at first sight than the comparatively small part played in the life of the colony by schools and school-teachers. It will be remembered that one of the reasons why the Pilgrims left Holland was because they wished their young people to be properly brought up; and in Holland education was universal. Guicciardini notes that every one there had "some smattering of their Gramer"; and that even the husbandmen could read and write. At first teachers in Holland were paid by the people, but by 1609 the schools were the common property of the people, paid for out of the municipal rates.¹

The Protestants of the Netherlands saw very clearly the immense importance of education to their cause, based as it was upon a study of the

¹ Motley: "United Netherlands." Vol. IV, 567.

Scriptures, the general education of the people, and the wide diffusion of printed books, especially of the Bible. We cannot for a minute suppose that Bradford was not keenly aware of the importance of carrying on at Plymouth the traditions of Holland in respect to education. But his "History" makes no mention of this matter until the year 1624, when he replies to a criticism to the effect that the children of the Pilgrims were neither taught to read nor to recite the catechism. This he declares to be not true. On the contrary he asserts that "divers take pains with their own as they can; indeed we have no common school for want of a fit person or hitherto means to maintain one; though we desire now to begin."

It must, however, be borne in mind that at first there were not many children to be trained. Of the twelve children who came to Plymouth on the *Mayflower* only seven survived the terrible epidemic of colds which came as a result of the exposure during those first few weeks when there was no proper shelter available for the colonists, and the men waded about in the icy water of Provincetown Bay, regardless of consequences. How many children were included in the families which came over in subsequent early ships does not appear. There must of course have been some, but there were not many. And during the first few years of the colony's life, the increase of children from births was not very rapid. None the less a school might have been got together

had there been a teacher available or money on hand to meet the expense. As it was, the children were undoubtedly taught at home as they had been in England. And that somebody was doing very satisfactory teaching is clear from the fact that a daughter of John Howland and Elizabeth Tilley, who was one of the first generation of children born to the Pilgrims on these shores, "signed her name in her old age as administratrix of her husband's estate in an almost clerkly hand."

That there was a school by 1635 we have convincing proof in that a boy by the name of Eaton was then apprenticed to Bridget Fuller under terms which required her "to keep him at school two years." The allusion here might be to family training of a regular kind, but the presumption is that there was a school, since in the first class graduated from Harvard in 1642 Plymouth had a representative, and in the class of 1650 was another graduate from the old colony. These young men must have been fitted for college somewhere.

A fact not to be dodged, however, is that it was forty years after the landing at Plymouth before positive enactments on the subject of education began to appear on the statute books. In 1663 vigorous steps seem to have been taken. Not only Plymouth, but other towns which had grown out of the original settlement, like Duxbury and Marshfield, were now required by the Court, the lawmaking body, to take into serious considera-

tion the matter of securing schoolmasters "to train up children to read and write." Four or five years later, one John Morton, nephew of the Nathaniel Morton who was so long Secretary of the colony, came forward and "offered to teach children and youth of the town to read and write and cast accounts on reasonable consideration." This offer was not accepted at once; but in 1671 Morton's proposition was acted upon, and the school was started. One year previously appropriation had been made to meet the expenses of such a school; the Court made a grant of all the profit annually accruing to the colony "for fishing with nets or seines at Cape Cod, for mackerel, bass or herrings, to be made for and toward a free school in some town in this jurisdiction, provided a beginning was made within one year of the grant." This school was classical as well as elementary. It is claimed for it that it was "the first free school ordained by law in New England." But this honor belongs to the Bay colony, not to Plymouth. And though Nathaniel Morton was a historian and his nephew a schoolmaster, his four married daughters could not write. Nor could the wife of Governor Bradford. The education of women was not regarded with universal favor in early Plymouth. A project to establish a school for girls was opposed as late as 1793 on the ground that it might teach wives how to correct their husbands' errors in spelling!

Yet there is no call to pity the Pilgrims too

much for their scanty educational opportunities and their barren social life. Nor need we regard them as too distinctly martyrs to an impossible ideal. They enjoyed at Plymouth a greater degree of economic freedom than they could have attained in Scrooby or Austerfield at this time, and they were able to bring up their children in comfort and to worship God in the way that seemed to them good. The lesson of their lives is, therefore, an altogether inspiring one: that to those who have vision and the faith steadfastly to follow the Gleam a sufficiency of this world's goods and conditions under which they may enjoy the same are usually attainable.

APPENDIX

BRADFORD'S "WHO'S WHO" OF THE *MAYFLOWER* PASSENGER LIST

The names of those which came over first, in ye year 1620. and were by the blessing of God the first beginners and (in a sort) the foundation of all the Plantations and Colonies in New-England; and their families.

8. Mr. John Carver; Kathrine, his wife; Desire Minter; & 2 man-servants, John Howland, Roger Wilder; William Latham, a boy; & a maid servant, & a child yt was put to him, called Jasper More.
6. Mr. William Brewster; Mary, his wife; with 2. sons, whose names were Love & Wrasling; and a boy was put to him called Richard More; and another of his brothers. The rest of his children were left behind, & came over afterwards.
5. Mr. Edward Winslow; Elizabeth, his wife; & 2. men servants, caled Georg Sowle and Elias Story; also a little girle was put to him, caled Ellen, the sister of Richard More.
2. William Bradford, and Dorothy, his wife; having but one child, a sone, left behind, who came afterward.
6. Mr. Isaack Allerton, and Mary, his wife; with 3. children, Bartholomew, Remember, & Mary; and a servant boy, John Hooke.

2. Mr. Samuel Fuller, and a servant, caled William Butten. His wife was behind, & a child, which came afterwards.
2. John Crakston, and his sone, John Crackston.
2. Captin Myles Standish, and Rose, his wife.
4. Mr. Christopher Martin, and his wife, and 2. servants, Salamon Prower and John Langemore.
5. Mr. William Mullines, and his wife, and 2. children, Joseph & Priscila; and a servant, Robart Carter.
6. Mr. William White, and Susana, his wife, and one sone, caled Resolved, and one borne a ship-bord, caled Peregriene; & 2. servants, named William Holbeck & Edward Thomson.
8. Mr. Steven Hopkins, & Elizabeth, his wife, and 2. children, caled Giles, and Constanta, a doughter, both by a former wife; and 2. more by this wife, caled Damaris & Oceanus; the last was borne at sea; and 2. servants, called Edward Doty and Edward Litster.
1. Mr. Richard Warren; but his wife and children were lefte behind, and came afterwards.
4. John Billinton, and Elen, his wife; and 2. sones, John & Francis.
4. Edward Tillie, and Ann, his wife; and 2. children that were their cossens, Henery Samson and Humility Coper.
3. John Tillie, and his wife; and Eelizabeth, thier doughter.
2. Francis Cooke, and his sone John. But his wife & other children came afterwards.
2. Thomas Rogers, and Joseph, his sone. His other children came afterwards,

- 3.¹ Thomas Tinker, and his wife, and a sone.
2. John Rigdale, and Alice, his wife.
3. James Chilton, and his wife, and Mary, their daughter. They had an other doughter, yt was maried, came afterward.
3. Edward Fuller, and his wife, and Samuell, their sonne.
3. John Turner, and 2. sones. He had a doughter came some years after to Salem, wher she is now living.
3. Francis Eaton, and Sarah, his wife, and Samuell, their sone, a yong child.
10. Moyses Fletcher, John Goodman, Thomas Williams, Digerie Preist, Edmond Margeson, Peter Browne, Richard Britterige, Richard Clarke, Richard Gardenar, Gilbert Winslow.
1. John Alden was hired for a cooper, at South-Hampton, wher the ship victuled; and being a hopfull yong man, was much desired, but left to his owne liking to go or stay when he came here; but he stayed, and maryed here.
2. John Allerton and Thomas English were both hired, the later to goe mr of a shalop here, and ye other was reputed as one of ye company, but was to go back (being a seaman) for the help of others behind. But they both dyed here, before the shipe returned.
2. There were allso other 2. seamen hired to stay a year here in the country, William Trevore, and one Ely. But when their time was out, they both returned.

These, being aboute a hundred sowls, came

¹ Written 2 in MS.

over in this first ship; and began this worke, which God of his goodnes hath hitherto blessed; let his holy name have ye praise.

And seeing it hath pleased him to give me to see 30. years compleated since these beginnings; and that the great works of his providence are to be observed, I have thought it not unworthy my paines to take a veiwe of the decreasings & increasings of these persons, and such changs as hath passed over them & theirs, in this thirty years. It may be of some use to such as come after; but, however, I shall rest in my owne benefite. I will therefore take them in order as they lye.

Mr. Carver and his wife dyed the first year; he in ye spring, she in ye somer; also, his man Roger and ye little boy Jasper dyed before either of them, of ye commone infection. Desire Minter returned to her freinds, & proved not very well, and dyed in England. His servant boy Latham, after more than 20. years stay in the country, went into England, and from thence to the Bahamy Ilands in ye West Indies, and ther, with some others, was starved for want of food. His maid servant married, & dyed a year or tow after, here in this place.

His servant, John Howland, married the doughter of John Tillie, Elizabeth, and they are both now living, and have 10. children, now all living; and their eldest daughter hath 4. children. And
 15. ther 2. daughter, 1. all living; and other of their children mariagable. So 15. are come of them.

4. Mr. Brewster lived to very old age; about 80 years he was when he dyed, having lived some 23. or 24. years here in ye countrie; & though his wife dyed long before, yet she dyed aged. His sone Wrastle dyed a yonge man unmarried; his sone Love lived till this year 1650. and dyed and left 4. children, now living. His doughters which came over after him are dead, but have left sundry children alive; his eldest sone is still liveing, and hath 9. or 10. children; one married, who hath a child or 2.

- Richard More his brother dyed the first winter; but he is married, and hath 4. or 5. children, all living.

- Mr. Ed. Winslow his wife dyed the first winter; and he married with the widow of Mr. White, and hath 2. children living by her marigable, besides sundry that are dead.

- One of his servants dyed, as also the little girle, soone after the ships arivall. But his man, Georg Sowle, is still living, and hath 8 children.

- William Bradford his wife dyed soone after their arivall; and he married againe; and hath 4. children, 3. whereof are married.

- Mr. Allerton his wife dyed with the first, and his servant, John Hooke. His sone Bartle is married in England, but I know not how many children he hath. His doughter Remember is married at Salem, & hath 3. or 4. children living. And his doughter Mary is married here, & hath 4. children. Him selfe married againe with ye doughter of Mr. Brewster, & hath one sone living by her, but she is long since dead. And he is

married againe, and hath left this place long agoe. So I account his increase to be 8. besides his sons in England.

2. Mr. Fuller his servant dyed at sea; and after his wife came over, he had tow children by her, which are living and growne up to years; but he dyed some 15 years agoe.

John Crackstone dyed in the first mortality; and about some 5. or 6. years after, his sone dyed; having lost him selfe in ye wodes, his feet became frosen, which put him into a feavor, of which he dyed.

4. Captain Standish¹ his wife dyed in the first sickness, and he married againe, and hath 4. sones liveing, and some are dead.

Mr. Martin, he & all his, dyed in the first infection not long after the arivall.

15. Mr. Molines, and his wife, his sone, and his servant, dyed the first winter. Only his daughter Priscila survied, and married with John Alden, who are both living, and have 11. children. And their eldest daughter is married, & hath five children.

7. Mr. White and his 2. servants dyed soone after ther landing. His wife married with Mr. Winslow (as is before noted). His 2. sons are married, and Resolved hath 5. children, Peregrine tow, all living. So their increase are 7.

5. Mr. Hopkins and his wife are now both dead, but they lived above 20. years in this place, and had one sone and 4. daughters borne here. Ther sone became a seaman, & dyed at Barbadoes: one daughter dyed here, and 2. are married; one

¹ Who dyed 3. of Octob. 1655.

of them hath 2. children; & one is yet to mary. So their increase which still survive are 5. But

4. his sone Giles is married, and hath 4. children.

12. His daughter Constanta is also married, and hath 12. children, all of them living, and one of them married.

4. Mr. Richard Warren lived some 4. or 5. years, and had his wife come over to him, by whom he had 2. sons before dyed; and one of them is married, and hath 2. children. So his increase is 4. But he had 5. daughters more came over with his wife, who are all married, & living, & have many children.

8. John Billinton, after he had bene here 10. yers, was executed for killing a man; and his eldest sone dyed before him; but his 2. sone is alive, and married, & hath 8. children.

7. Edward Tillie and his wife both dyed soon after their arrivall; and the girle Humility, their cousen, was sent for into England, and dyed ther. But the youth Henery Samson is still liveing, and is married, & hath 7. children.

John Tillie and his wife both dyed a litle after they came ashore; and their daughter Elizabeth married with John Howland, and hath issue as is before noted.

Francis Cooke is still living, a very olde man, and hath seene his childrens children have children; after his wife came over (with other of his children), he hath three still living by her, all

8. married, and have 5. children; so their increase is 8. And his sone John, which came over with

4. him, is married, and hath 4. children living.

- Thomas Rogers dyed in the first sicknes, but his sone Joseph is still living, and is married, and hath 6. children. The rest of Thomas Rogers (children) came over, & are married, & have many children.

Thomas Tinker and his wife and sone all dyed in the first sicknes.

And so did John Rigdale and his wife.

10. James Chilton and his wife also dyed in the first infection. But their daughter Mary is still living, and hath 9. children; and one daughter is married, & hath a child; so their increase is 10.
4. Edward Fuller and his wife dyed soon after they came ashore; but their sone Samuell is living, & married, and hath 4. children or more.

John Turner and his 2. sones all dyed in the first siknes. But he hath a daughter still living at Salem, well married, and approved of.

4. Francis Eaton his first wife dyed in the generall sicknes; and he married againe, & his 2. wife dyed, & he married the 3. and had by her 3. children. One of them is married, & hath a child; the other are living, but one of them is an ideote. He dyed about 16. years agoe. His sone Samuell, who came over a sucking child, is allso married, & hath a child.

Moyses Fletcher, Thomas Williams, Digerie Preist, John Goodman, Edmond Margeson, Richard Britteridge, Richard Clarke. All these dyed sone after their arivall, in the general sicknes that befell. But Digerie Preist had his wife & children sent hither afterwards, she being Mr. Allertons sister. But the rest left no posteritie here.

Richard Gardinar became a seaman, and died in England, or at sea.

Gilbert Winslow, after diverse years abroad here, returned into England, and dyed ther.

6. Peter Browne married twice. By his first wife he had 2. children, who are living, & both of them married, and the one of them hath 2. children; by his second wife he had 2. more. He dyed about 16. years since.

Thomas English and John Allerton dyed in the generall siknes.

John Alden married with Priscilla, Mr. Mollines his daughter, and had issue by her as is before related.

Edward Doty & Edward Litster, the servants of Mr. Hopkins. Litster, after he was at liberty, went to Virginia, & ther dyed. But Edward Doty by a second wife hath 7. children, and both he and they are living.

Of these 100. persons which came first over in this first ship together, the greater halfe dyed in the generall mortality; and most of them in 2. or three monthes time. And for those which survied, though some were ancient & past procreation, & others left ye place and cuntrie, yet of those few remaining are sprunge up above 160. persons, in this 30. years and are now living in this presente year, 1650. besides many of their children which are dead, and come not within this account.

And of the old stock (of one & other) ther are yet living this present year, 1650. nere 30. persons. Let the Lord have ye praise, who is the High Preserver of men.

A "COMIC RELIEF" CHAPTER IN PLYMOUTH HISTORY

"The inhabitants of Pasonagessit," according to the chronicles of Thomas Morton ¹ (having translated the name of their habitation from that ancient Salvage name to Ma-re Mount, and being resolved to have the new name confirmed for a memorial to after ages), "did devise amongst themselves to have it performed in a solemne manner, with Revels and merriment after the old English custome; [they] prepared to sett up a Maypole upon the festivall day of Philip and Jacob, and therefore brewed a barrell of excellent beere and provided a case of bottles, to be spent, with other good cheare, for all commers of that day. And because they would have it in a compleat forme, they had prepared a song fitting to the time and present occasion. And upon Mayday they brought the Maypole to the place appointed, with drummes, gunnes, pistols and other fitting instruments, for that purpose; and there erected it with the help of Salvages, that came thether of purpose to see the manner of our Revels. A goodly pine tree of 80. foote longe was reared up, with a peare of buckshorns nayled one somewhat neare unto the top of it; where it stood, as a faire sea marke for directions how to finde out the way to mine Hoste of Ma-re Mount.

"And because it should more fully appeare to what end it was placed there, they had a poem in readiness made, which was fixed to the Maypole, to shew the new names confirmed upon that plantation; which,

¹ This is from Chapter XIV of the "Second Booke" of the "New Canaan." I am indebted to the courtesy of the Prince Society for permission to reproduce thus at length quotations from Morton's work heretofore inaccessible to "the general."

although it were made according to the occurrents of the time, it being Enigmatically composed, pusselled the Separatists most pittifully to expound it, which, (for the better information of the reader), I have here inserted."

(As the poem "pussells" me no less than it did the "Separatists" I have refrained from "pusselling" my readers with it.)

"The setting up of this Maypole was a lamentable spectacle to the precise seperatists, that lived at new Plimmouth. They termed it an Idoll; yea, they called it the Calfe of Horeb, and stood at defiance with the place, naming it Mount Dagon; threatning to make it a woefull mount and not a merry mount.

"The Riddle, for want of Oedipus, they could not expound; onely they made some explication of part of it, and sayd it was meant by Sampson Iob, the carpenter of the shipp that brought over a woman to her husband, that had bin there longe before and thrived so well that hee sent for her and her children to come to him; where shortly after hee died; having no reason, but because of the sound of those two words; when as, (the truth is), the man they applyed it to was altogether unknowne to the Author.

"There was likewise a merry song made, which, (to make their Revells more fashionable,) was sung with a Corus, every man bearing his part; which they performed in a daunce, hand in hand about the Maypole, whiles one of the Company sung and filled out the good liquor, like gammedes and Jupiter.

THE SONGE

Drinke and be merry, merry, merry boyes ;
Let all your delight be in the Hymens joyes ;
Io to Hymen, now the day is come,
About the merry Maypole take a Roome.

Make greene garlons, bring bottles out
And fill sweet Nectar freely about.

Uncover thy head and feare no harme,
For hers good liquor to keepe it warme.

Then drinke and be merry, etc.

Io to Hymen, etc.

Nectar is a thing assign'd,
By the Deities owne minde,
To cure the hart opprest with greife,
And of good liquors is the cheife.

Then drinke, etc.

Io to Hymen, etc.

Give to the Mellancolly man
A cup or two of 't now and than ;
This physick will soone revive his blood
And make him be of a merrier moode.

Then drinke, etc.

Io to Hymen, etc.

Give to the Nymphe thats free from scorne,
No Irish stuff nor Scotch over worne,
Lasses in beaver coats come away,
Yee shall be welcome to us night and day.

To drinke and be merry, etc.,

Io to Hymen, etc.

“This harmeles mirth made by younge men, (that lived in hope to have wives brought over to them, that

would save them a labour to make a voyage to fetch any over), was much distasted of the precise Seperatists, that keepe much a doe about the tyth of Mint and Cummin, troubling their braines more then reason would require about things that are indifferent; and from that time sought occasion against my honest Host of Ma-re Mount, to overthrow his undertakings and to destroy his plantation quite and cleane. But because they presumed with their imaginary gifts, (which they have out of Phaos box), they could expound hidden misteries, to convince them of blindnes, as well in this as in other matters of more consequence, I will illustrate the poem, according to the true intent of the authors of these Revells, so much distasted by those Moles.

“Oedipus is generally receaved for the absolute reader of riddles, who is invoaked: Silla and Caribdis are two dangerous places for seamen to incounter neere unto Venice; and have bin by poets formerly resembled to man and wife. The like licence the author challenged for a paire of his nomination, the one lamenting for the losse of the other as Niobe for her children. Amphitrite is an arme of the Sea, by which the newes was carried up and downe of a rich widow, now to be tane up or laid down. By Triton is the fame spread that caused the Suturs to muster, (as it had bin to Penellope of Greece); and, the coast lying circular, all our passage to and froe is made more convenient by Sea then Land. Many aimed at this marke; but hee that played Proteus best and could comply with her humor must be the man that would carry her; and hee had need have Sampsons strenght to deale with a Dallila, and as much patience as Job

that should come there, for a thing that I did observe in the life-time of the former.

"But marriage and hanging, (they say), comes by destiny and Scogans choice tis better [than] none at all. Hee that playd Proteus, (with the helpe of Priapus), put their noses out of joynt, as the Proverbe is.

"And this the whole company of the Revellers at Ma-re Mount knew to be the true sence and exposition of the riddle that was fixed to the Maypole, which the Separatists were at defiance with. Some of them affirmed that the first institution thereof was in memory of a whore;¹ not knowing that it was a Trophe erected at first in honor of Maja, the Lady of learning which they despise, vilifying the two universities with uncivile terms, accounting what is there obtained by studdy is but unnecessary learning; not considering that learninge does inable mens mindes to converse with eliments of a higher nature then is to be found within the habitation of the Mole."²

We come now to the chapter in which our satirist describes his arrest at the hands of Standish, whom he calls Captain Shrimp. Bradford's sober version of this encounter we have already read.

"The Separatists, envying the prosperity and hope of the Plantation at Ma-re Mount, (which they perceived beganne to come forward, and to be in a good way for gaine in the Beaver trade), conspired together against mine Host especially, (who was the owner of that Plantation), and made up a party against him;

¹ "Ye Roman Goddess Flora," according to Bradford.

² Here ends Chapter XIV. Morton, we see by this closing paragraph, chose constantly to ignore the fact that there were other university men than himself within the confines of the Plymouth Colony.

and mustred up what aide they could, accounting him as of a great Monster.

“Many threatening speeches were given out both against his person and his Habitation, which they divulged should be consumed with fire: And taking advantage of the time when his company, (which seemed little to regard their threats), were gone up into the Inlands to trade with the Salvages for Beaver, they set upon my honest host at a place called Wessaguscus, where, by accident, they found him. The inhabitants there were in good hope of the subversion of the plantation at Mare Mount, (which they principally aymed at;) and the rather because mine host was a man that indeavored to advaunce the dignity of the Church of England; which they, (on the contrary part), would laboure to vilifie with uncivile termes; enveying against the sacred booke of common prayer, and mine host that used it in a laudable manner amongst his family, as a practise of piety.

“There hee would be a meanes to bringe facks to their mill, (such is the thirst after Beaver), and helped the conspiratores to surprise mine host, (who was there all alone;) and they chardged him, (because they would seeme to have some reasonable cause against him to sett a glosse upon their mallice), with criminal things; which indeede had beene done by such a person, but was of their conspiracy; mine host demaunded of the conspirators who it was that was author of that information, that seemed to be their ground for what they now intended. And because they answered they would not tell him, hee as peremptorily replied, that hee would not say whether he had, or he had not done as they had bin informed.

“The answer made no matter, (as it seemed), whether it had bin negatively or affirmatively made; for they had resolved what hee should suffer, because, (as they boasted), they were now become the greater number: they had shaken of their shackles of servitude, and were become Masters, and masterles people.

“It appeares they were like beares whelpes in former time, when mine hosts plantation was of as much strength as theirs, but now, (theirs being stronger), they, (like overgrowne beares), seemed monstrous. In breife, mine host must indure to be their prisoner until they could contrive it so that they might send him for England, (as they said), there to suffer according to the meritt of the fact which they intended to father upon him supposing, (belike), it would prove a hainous crime.

“Much rejoycing was made that they had gotten their capitall enemy, (as they concluded him); whome they purposed to hamper in such sort that hee should not be able to uphold his plantation at Ma-re Mount.

“The Conspirators sported themselves at my honest host, that meant them no hurt, and were so joccund that they feasted their bodies, and fell to tippeling as if they had obtained a great prize; like the Trojans when they had the custody of Hippeus pinetree horse.

“Mine host fained greefe, and could not be perswaded either to eate or drinke; because he knew emptines would be a meanes to make him as watchfull as the Geese kept in the Roman Cappitall; whereon, the contrary part, the conspirators would be so drowsy that hee might have an opportunity to give them a slip, insteade of a tester. Six persons of the conspiracy were set to watch him at Wessaguscus; But

hee kept waking; and in the dead of night (one lying on the bed for further suerty), up gets mine Host and got to the second dore that hee was to passe, which notwithstanding the lock, hee got open, and shut it after him with such violence that it affrighted some of the conspirators.

“The word, which was given with an alarme, was, o he’s gone, he’s gon, what shall wee doe, he’s gon! The rest, (halfe a sleepe), start up in a maze, and, like rames, ran their heads one at another full butt in the darke.

“Their grande leader, Captaine Shrimp, took on most furiously and tore his clothes for anger, to see the empty nest, and their bird gone.

“The rest were eager to have torne their haire from their heads; but it was so short that it would give them no hold. Now Captain Shrimp thought in the losse of this prize, (which hee accounted his Master peece), all his honor would be lost for ever.

“In the mean time mine Host was got home to Ma-re Mount through the woods, eight miles round about the head of the river Monatoquit that parted the two Plantations, finding his way by the helpe of the lightening, (for it thundered as hee went terribly;) and there hee prepared powther, three pounds dried, for his present employment, and foure good gunnes for him and the two assistants left at his howse, with bullets of severall sizes, three hounderd or thereabouts, to be used if the conspirators should pursue him thether: and these two persons promised their aides in the quarrell, and confirmed that promise with health in good rosa solis.

“Now Captaine Shrimp, the first Captaine in the

Land, (as hee supposed), must doe some new act to repaire this losse, and, to vindicate his reputation, who had sustained blemish by this oversight, begins now to study, how to repaire or survive his honor: in this manner, callinge of Councell, they conclude.

“He takes eight persons more to him, and, (like the nine Worthies of New Canaan), they imbarque with preparation against Ma-re-Mount, where this Monster of a man, as theire phrase was, had his denne; the whole number, had the rest not bin from home, being but seaven, would have given Captaine Shrimpe, (a quondam Drummer), such a wellcome as would have made him wish for a Drume as bigg as Diogenes tubb, that hee might have crept into it out of sight.

“Now the nine Worthies are approached, and mine Host prepared: having intelligence by a Salvage, that hastened in love from Wessaguscus to give him notice of their intent.

“One of mine Hosts men prooved a craven: the other had prooved his wits to purchase a little valoure, before mine Host had observed his posture.

“The nine worthies comming before the Denne of this supposed Monster, (this seaven headed hydra, as they termed him,) and began, like Don Quixote against the Windmill, to beate a parly, and to offer quarter, if mine Host would yeald; for they resolved to send him for England; and bad him lay by his armes.

“But hee, (who was the Sonne of a Souldier), having taken up armes in his just defence, replyed that hee would not lay by those armes, because they were so needefull at Sea, if hee should be sent over. Yet, to save the effusion of so much warty bloud, as would haue issued out of the vaynes of these 9. worthies of

New Canaan, if mine Host should have played upon them out at his port holes, (for they came within danger like a flocke of wild geese, as if they had bin tayled one to another, as coult to be sold at a faier), mine Host was content to yeelde upon quarter; and did capitulate with them in what manner it should be for more certainty, because hee knew what Captaine Shrimpe was.

“Hee expressed that no violence should be offered to his person, none to his goods, nor any of his Howsehold; but that hee should have his armes, and what els was requisit for the voyage: which their Herald retornes, it was agreed upon, and should be performed.

“But mine Host no sooner had set open the dore, and issued out, but instantly Captaine Shrimpe and the rest of the worties stepped to him, layd hold of his armes, and had him downe; and so eagerly was every man bent against him, (not regarding any agreement made with such a carnall man), that they fell upon him as if they would have eaten him: some of them were so violent that they would have a slice with scabbert, and all for haste; until an old Souldier, (of the Queenes, as the Proverbe is), that was there by accident, clapt his gunne under the weapons, and sharply rebuked these worthies for their unworthy practises. So the matter was taken into more deliberate consideration.

“Captaine Shrimpe, and the rest of the nine worthies, made themselves, (by this outrageous riot), Masters of mine Hoste of Ma-re Mount, and disposed of what hee had at his plantation.

“This they knew, (in the eye of the Salvages), would add to their glory, and diminish the reputation

of mine honest Host; whome they practised to be ridd of upon any termes, as willingly as if hee had bin the very Hidra of the time."

Somehow as one reads this literary production of Thomas Morton, one is reminded of another Thomas, better known as Tommy, whom James M. Barrie has immortalized in our own time and who likewise had a gift for making himself the hero and central figure of all the adventures of which he was a part.

Let us follow further this "Sentimental Tommy" of an earlier day:¹

"The nine worthies of New Canaan having now the Law in their owne hands, (there being no generall Governour in the Land; nor none of the Speration that regarded the duety they owe their Soveraigne, whose naturall borne Subjects they were, though translated out of Holland, from whence they had learned to worke all to their owne ends, and make a great shewe of Religion, but no humanity), for they were now to sit in Counsell on the cause.

"And much it stood mine honest Host upon to be very circumspect, and to take Eacus² to taske; for that his voyce was more allowed of then both the other: and had not mine Host confounded all the arguments that Eacus could make in their defence, and confuted him that swaied the rest, they would have made him unable to drinke in such manner of merriment any more. So that following this private counsell, given him by one that knew who ruled the rost, the Hircano ceased that els would split his pinace.

¹ We come now to Chapter XVI of the third book of "The New English Canaan."

² The reference here is supposed to be to Doctor Samuel Fuller, the physician of the Colony.

"A conclusion was made and sentence given that mine Host should be sent to England a prisoner. But when hee was brought to the shippes for that purpose, no man durst be so foole hardy as to undertake carry him.¹ So these Worthies set mine Host upon an Island, without gunne, powther, or shot or dogge or so much as a knife to get any thinge to feede upon, or any other cloathes to shelter him with at winter then a thinne suite which hee had one at that time. Home hee could not get to Ma-re-Mount. Upon this Island hee stayed a moneth at least, and was releevd by Salvages that took notice that mine Host was a Sachem of Passonagessit, and would bringe bottles of strong liquor to him, and unite themselves into a league of brother hood with mine Host; so full of humanity are these infidels before those Christians.

"From this place for England sailed mine Host in a Plimmouth shipp, (that came into the Land to fish upon the Coast,) that landed him safe in England at Plimmouth: and he stayed in England untill the ordinary time for shipping to set forth for these parts, and then retorned:² Noe man being able to taxe him of any thinge.

"But the Worthies, (in the meane time), hoped they had bin ridd of him."

They did, indeed! But let the gifted Thomas tell this tale, too, as he proceeds to do in a short chapter (XVII of Book III) and a long and altogether senseless

¹ Morton here confuses his 1628 experience in Plymouth with what befell him in Boston two years later.

² It was really not until towards the close of the summer of the next year that Morton returned to Massachusetts, in company with Allerton, as we have seen.

poem to which, however, he devotes a long explanation as follows :

“Now to illustrate this Poem, and make the sence more plaine, it is to be considered that the Persons at Ma-re-Mount were seaven, and they had seaven heads and 14 feete; these were accounted Hidra with the seaven heads: and the Maypole, with the Hornes nailed neere the topp, was the forked tayle of this supposed Monster, which they (for want of skill), imposed: yet feared in time, (if they hindred not mine Host), hee would hinder the benefit of their Beaver trade, as hee had done, (by meanes of this helpe), in Kynyback river finely, ere they were awares; who, comming too late, were much dismaide to finde that mine Host his boate had gleaned away all before they came; which Beaver is a fitt companion for Scarlett: and I beleeve that Jasons golden Fleece was either the same, or some other Fleece not of so much value.

“This action bred a kinde of hart burning in the Plimmouth Planters, who after sought occasion against mine Host to overthrowe his undertakings and to destroy his Plantation; whome they accounmpted a maine enemy to their Church and State.

“Now when they had begunne with him, they thought best to proceede: forasmuch as they thought themselves farre enough from any controule of Justice, and therefore resolved to be their owne carvers: (and the rather because they presumed upon some encouragement they had from the favourites of their Sect in England :) and with fire and sword, nine in number, pursued mine Host, who had escaped their hands, in scorne of what they intended, and betooke

him to his habitation in a night of great thunder and lightening, when they durst not follow him, as hardy as these nine worthies seemed to be.

"It was in the Moneth of June that these Marshal-lists had appointed to goe about this mischeifous project, and deale so crabbidly with mine Host.

"After a parly, hee capitulated with them about the quarter they proffered him, if hee would content to goe for England, there to answeare, (as they pretended), some thing they could object against him principall to the generall: But what it would be hee cared not, neither was it anything materiall.

"Yet when quarter was agreed upon, they, contrary wise, abused him, and carried him to theire towne of Plimmouth, where, (if they had thought hee durst have gone to England), rather then they would have bin any more affronted by him they would have dispatched him, as Captaine Shrimp in a rage profest that hee would doe with his Pistoll, as mine Host should set his foote into the boate. Howsoever, the cheife Elders voyce in that place was more powerfull than any of the rest, who concluded to send mine Host without any other thing to be done to him. And this being the finall agreement, (contrary to Shrimpe and others), the nine worthies had a great Feast made, and the furmity¹ pott was provided for the boats gang by no allowance: and all manner of pastime.

"Captaine Shrimpe was so overjoyed in the performance of this exployt, that they had, at that time, extraordinary merriment, (a thing not usuall amongst

¹ Apparently the allusion here is to frumenty which, according to Webster, is wheat boiled in milk, seasoned with sugar, cinnamon, etc.

those presisians); and when the winde served they tooke mine Host into their Shallop, hoysed Saile, and carried him to the Northern parts; where they left him upon a Island.”

Now we come to a chapter in which is related the story of a great Bonfire made for joy of the arrival of great Josua, surnamed Temperwell, into the Land of Canaan.¹

“Seaven shipps set forth at once, and altogether arrived in the Land of Canaan, to take a full possession thereof: What are all the 12. Tribes of new Israell come? No, none but the tribe of Issacar, and some few scattered Levites of the remnant of those that were descended of old Elies Howse.

“And here comes their Josua, too among them; and they make it a more miraculous thing for their seaven shipps to set forth together, and arrive at New Canaan together, then it was for the Israelites to goe over Jordan drishod; perhaps it was, because they had a wall on the right hand and a wall on the left hand.

“These Seperatists suppose there was no more difficulty in the matter then for a man to finde the way to the Counter at noone dayes, betweene a Sergeant and his yeoman: Now you may thinke mine Host will be hampered or never.

“There are the men that come prepared to ridd the Land of all pollution. These are more fubtile then the Cunning, that did refuse a goodly heap of gold.

¹ The arrival of Winthrop's fleet in June, 1630, is here referred to. It has already been stated that Josua Temperwell is intended for Governor Winthrop. It will be noticed that Morton, much as he disliked him, always refers to Winthrop, if not with respect, yet with a certain restraint of tone and insinuation which he did not show to others, such as Endicott, Fuller, and Standish.

These men have brought a very snare indeed; and now mine Host must suffer. The Book of Common Prayer, which hee used, to be despised: and hee must not be spared.

“Now they are come, his doome before hand was concluded on: they have a warrant now: A cheife one too: and now mine Host must know hee is the subject of their hatred: the Snare must now be used; this instrument must not be brought by Josua in vaine.

“A Court is called of purpose for mine host: hee there convented, and must heare his doome before hee goe: nor will they admitt him to capitulate, and know wherefore they are so violent to put such things in practise against a man they never saw before: now will they allow of it, though hee decline their jurisdiction.

“There they all with one assent put him to silence, crying out, heare the Governour, heare the Govern: who gave this sentence against mine Host at first sight: that he should be first put in the Billbowes, his goods should be all confiscated, his Plantation should be burned downe to the ground, because the habitation of the wicked should no more appeare in Israell, and his person banished from those territories; and this put in execution with all speede.

“The harmeles Salvages, (his neighbours), came the while, (greived, poore filly lambes, to see what they went about), and did reprove these Eliphants of witt for their inhumane deede: the Lord above did open their mouthes like Balams Asse, and made them speake in his behalfe sentences of unexpected divinity, besides morrallity; and toule them that god would not love them that burned this good mans howse;

and plainely sayed that they who were new come would finde the want of such a howses in the winter: so much themselves to him confest.

“The smoake that did assend appeared to be the very Sacrifice of Kain. Mine Host, (that a farre of abourd a ship did there behold this wofull spectacle) knew not what hee should doe in this extremity but beare and forbear, as Epictetus sayes: it was booteleffe to exclaime.

“Hee did consider then these transitory things are but ludibria fortunæ, as Cicero calls them. All was burnt downe to the ground, and nothing did remaine but the bare ashes as an embleme of their cruelty: and unles it could, (like to the Phenix), rise out of these ashes and be new againe, (to the immortall glory and renowne of this fertile Canaan the new), the stumpes and postes in their black liveries will mourne; and piety it selfe will add a voyce to the bare remnant of that Monument, and make it cry for recompence, (or else revenge), against the Sect of cruell Schismaticks.”

And now we are to listen to a sermon from Thomas Morton on Charity. He calls this peroration “The Charity of the Seperatists.”¹

“Charity is sayd to be the darling of Religion, and is indeed the Marke of a good Christian: But where we doe finde a Commission for ministring to the necessity of the Saints, we doe not finde any prohibition against casting our bread upon the water, where the unsanctified, as well as the sanctified, are in possibility to make use of it.

¹ Thus is Chapter XXVI of Book III of “The New English Canaan”, a highly malicious and grossly untrue piece of writing, as we know from repeated evidence of the kindness of the Pilgrims to sick Indians and others.

“I cannot perceave that the Seperatists doe allow of helping our poore, though they magnify their practise in contributing to the nourishment of their Saints; For as much as some that are of the number of those whom they terme without, (though it were in case of sicknesse), upon their landing, when a little fresh victuals would have recovered their healths, yet could they not finde any charitable assistance from them. Nay, mine Host of Ma-re-Mount, (if hee might have had the use of his gunne, powther and shot, and his dogg, which were denied), hee doubtles would have preserved such poore helples wretches as were neglected by those that brought them over; which was so apparent, (as it seemed), that one of their own tribe said, the death of them would be required at some bodys hands one day, (meaning Master Temperwell).

“But such good must not come from a carnall man: if it come from a member, then it is a sanctified worke; if otherwise, it is rejected as unsanctified.

“But when Shackles wife, and such as had husbands, parents or freinds, happened to bee sick, mine Hosts helpe was used, and instruments provided for him to kill fresh vittell with, (wherein hee was industrious), and the persons, having fresh vittell, lived.

“So doubtles might many others have bin preserved, but they were of the number left without; neither will those precise people admit a carnall man into their howses, though they have made use of his in the like case; they are such antagonists to those that doe not comply with them, and seeke to be admitted to be of their Church, that in scorne they say, you may see what it is to be without.”

But the crowning insult of this extraordinary piece of writing is to be found in the chapter which follows and which is called "Of the practise of their Church." This is the most significant chapter of the whole book and was deliberately designed to act on the well-known prejudices of Archbishop Laud, the head and controlling spirit of that Board of Lords Commissioners of Foreign Plantations which then had supreme authority over the Colonies. Morton dedicated his book to this Board, which at this very time was taking active measures to vacate the Massachusetts Charter and to assume the direct government of the colonies. Over against Morton's account of religious life in Plymouth one would do well to set that of Lechford — a lawyer by profession — who though a devout member of the Church of England, has given us in his *Plaine Dealing* a *trustworthy* description of the practice of the New England churches during the earliest days of the settlement.

"The Church of the Seperatists," our propagandist begins, "is governed by Pastors, Elders and Deacons, and there is not any of these, though hee be but a Cow keeper, but is allowed to exercise his guifts in the publiک assembly on the Lords day,¹ so as hee doe not make use of any notes for the helpe of his memory: for such things, they say, smell of Lampe oyle, and there must be no such unsavory perfume admitted to come into the congregation.

"These are all publiک preachers. There is amongst these people a Deakonesse, made of the sisters, that

¹ "Teaching in the church publicly" was charged against Winslow in 1634 before the Lords Commissioners; and at Archbishop Laud's "vehement importunity" the distinguished Pilgrim was at this time committed to the Fleet.

uses her gifts at home in an assembly of her sexe, by way of repetition or exhortation. Such is their practise.

“The Pastor, (before hee is allowed of), must disclaime his former calling to the Ministry, as hereticall; and take a new calling after their fantastick inventions: and then hee is admitted to bee their Pastor.

“The manner of disclaimeing is, to renounce his calling with bitter execrations, for the time that hee hath heretofore lived in it: and after his new election, there is great joy conceived at his commission.²

“And their Pastors have this preheminance above the Civil Magistrate: Hee must first consider of the complaint made against a member: and if hee be disposed to give the partie complained of an admonition, there is no more to be said: if not; Hee delivers him over to the Magistrate to deale with him in a course of Justice, according to their practise in cases of that nature.

“Of these pastors I have not knowne many: some I have observed together with their carriage in New Canaan, and can informe you what opinion hath bin conceived of their conditions in the perticuler. There is one who, (as they give it out there that thinke they speake it to advaunce his worth), has bin expected to exercise his gifts in an assembly that stayed his coming, in the midst of his Journey falls into a fitt, (which they terme a zealous meditation), and was 4. miles past the place appointed before hee came to himselfe, or did remember where abouts hee went. And how much these things are different from the

² It takes little imagination to see how Archbishop Laud would have foamed at the mouth at this piece of misinformation and at the equally malicious paragraph concerning the “deaconess.”

actions of mazed men, I leave to any indifferent man to judge; and if I should say they are all much alike, they that have seene and heard what I have done, will not condemne mee altogether.

“Now, for as much as by the practise of their Church every Elder or Deacon may preach, it is not amisse to discover their practise in that perticuler, before I part with them.

“It has bin an old saying, and a true, what is bred in the bone will not out of the flesh, nor the stepping into the pulpit that can make the person fitt for the imployment. The unfitness of the person undertaking to be the Messenger has brought a blemish upon the message, as in the time of Lewes the Eleventh, King of France, who, (having advaunced his Barber to place of Honor, and graced him with eminent titles), made him so presumptuous to undertake an Embassage to treat with forraine princes of Civile affaires.

“But what was the issue? Hee behaved himselfe so unworthily, (yet as well as his breeding would give him leave), that both the Messenger and the message were despised; and had not hee, (being discovered), conveyed himselfe out of their territories, they had made him pay for his barbarous presumption.

“Socrates sayes, *loquere ut te videam*. If a man observe these people in the exercise of their gifts, hee calling, the asses eares will peepe through the lyons hide. I am sorry they cannot discerne their owne infirmities. I will deale fairely with them, for I will draw their pictures cap a pe, that you may discerne them plainely from head to foote in their postures, that so much bewitch, (as I may speake with modesty),

these illiterate people to be so fantastickall, to take Ionas taske upon them without sufficient warrant.¹

“One steps up like the Minister of Justice with the ballance onely, not a sword for feare of affrighting his auditory. Hee poynts at a text, and handles it as evenly as hee can; and teaches the auditory, that the thing hee has to deliver must be well waied, for it is a very pretious thing, yes, much more pretious then gold or pearle: and hee will teach them the meanes how to way things of that excellent worth; that a man would suppose hee and his auditory were to part stakes by the scale; and the like distribution they have used about a bag pudding.

“Another, (of a more cutting disposition), steps in his steed; and hee takes a text, which hee divides into many parts: (to speake truly) as many as hee list. The fag end of it hee pares away, as a superfluous remnant.

“Hee puts his auditory in comfort, that hee will make a garment for them, and teach them how they shall put it on; and encourages them to be in love with it, for it is of such a fashion as doth best become a Christian man. Hee will assuer them that it shall be armor of proffe against all assaults of Satan. This garment, (sayes hee), is not composed as the garments made by a carnall man, that are sowed with a hot needle and a burning thread; but it is a garment that shall out last all the garments; and, if they will make use of it as hee shall direct them, they shall be able, (like saint George,) to terrifie the greate Dragon, error; and defend truth, which error with her wide chaps would devoure; whose mouth shall be filled

¹ Jonah or Jonas being the first Hebrew prophet sent to a heathen nation.

with the shreds and parings, which hee continually gapes for under the cutting board.

"A third, hee supplies the rome; and in the exercise of his guifts begins with a text that is drawne out of a fountaine that has in it no dreggs of popery. This shall proove unto you, (says hee), the Cup of repentance: it is not like unto the Cup of the Whore of Babilon, who will make men drunk with the dreggs thereof: it is filled up to the brim with comfortable joyce, and will proove a comfortable cordiall to a sick foule, sayes hee. And so hee handles the matter as if hee dealt by the pinte and quarte, with Nic and Froth.¹

"An other, (a very learned man indeed), goes another way to worke with his auditory; and exhorts them to walke upright, in the way of their calling, and not, (like carnall men,) tread awry. And if they should fayle in the performance of that duety, yet they should seeke for amendement whiles it was time; and tells them it would bee to late to seek for help when the shop windows were shutt up: and pricks them forward with a freindly admonition not to place their delight in worldly pleasures, which will not last, but in time will come to an end; but so to handle the matter that they may be found to wax better and better, and then they shall be doubly rewarded for their worke: and so closes up the matter in a comfortable manner.

"But stay: Here is one stept up in haste, and, (being not minded to hold his auditory in expectation of any long discourse), hee takes a text; and, (for

¹ Nic, or more correctly, nick, namely, "a raised or indented bottom in a beer-can, by which the customers were cheated, the nick below and the froth above filling up part of the measure." — Wright's "Dictionary of Obsolete and Provincial English."

brevities sake), divides it into one part: and then runnes so fast a fore with the matter, that his auditory cannot follow him. Doubtles his Father was some Irish footeman;¹ by his speede it seemes so. And it may be at the howre of death, the sonne, being present, did participat of his Fathers nature, (according to Pithagoras), and so the vertue of his Fathers nimble feete being infused into his braines, might make his tongue outrunne his wit.

“Well, if you marke it, these are special gifts indeede: which the vulgar people are so taken with, that there is no perswading them that it is so ridiculous.

“This is the meanes, (O the meanes), that they pursue: This that comes without premeditation; This is the Suparlative: and hee that does not approve of this, they say is a very reprobate.

“Many unwarrantable Tenents they have likewise: some of which being come to my knowledge I wil here set downe: one whereof, being in publicke practise maintained, is more notorious then the rest. I will therefore beginne with that, and convince them of manifest error by the maintenance of it, which is this:

“That it is the Magistrates office absolutely, (and not the Minsters), to joyne the people in lawful matrimony. And for this they vouch the History of Ruth, saying Boas was married to Ruth in presence of the Elders of the people. Herein they mistake the scope of the text.

“2. That it is a relique of popery to make use of a ring in marriage: and that it is a diabolicall circle for the Divell to daunce in.

¹ Footmen were originally men who ran on foot ahead of the coaches to notify innkeepers that guests might soon be expected.

"3. That the purification used for weomen after delivery is not to be used.

"4. That no child shall be baptised whose parents are not receaved into their Church first.

"5. That no person shall be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords supper that is without.¹

"6. That the booke of Common prayer is an idoll: and all that use it, Idolaters.

"7. That every man is bound to beleeve a professor upon his bare affirmation onely, before a Protestant upon oath.

"8. That no person hath any right to Gods creatures, but Gods children onely, who are themselves: and that all others are but usurpers of the Creatures.

"9. And that, for the generall good of their Church and commonwealth, they are to neglect father, mother and all friendship.

"10. Much a doe they keepe about their Church discipline, as if that were the most essentiall part of their Religion. Tythes are banished from thence, all except the tyth of Mint and Commin.

"11. They differ from us something in the creede too, for if they get the goods of one, that is without, into their hands, hee shall be kept without remedy for any satisfaction: and they beleeve that this is not cosenage.

"12. And lastly they differ from us in the manner of praying; for they winke² when they pray, because they thinke themselves so perfect in the highe way to heaven that they can find it blindfould: So doe not I."

¹ "Without" was commonly used by Bradford, also, as meaning outside the church.

² An obsolete use of the word *wink* is "to shut the eyes" (Worcester).

Three more chapters there are in "The New English Canaan", but with this one with its skillful pandering to the prejudices of Laud we may well close. It did a good deal of mischief for the Plymouth Colony in England, as it was meant to do; but being largely lies, its effects were not lasting. For us of to-day its sole appeal lies in its humorous exaggerations.

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